THE WORLD OF STOLEN GOODS

A Psychological Perspective of Illicit Consumption

"Corporate Victimization Phenomenon"
A Study in Business & Strategy Management

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The Thesis Title, "*The World of Stolen Goods*" was inspired by Mary Douglas & Baron Isherwood (1996) book on *'The World of Goods'*

> "[An] intelligent and intriguing probe into the mystics of why people want and use 'goods'....A fascinating study, replete with evidence of socio culture changes and coves interesting demands of 'our' capitalist society."
>
> – *Christodoulou, A (2007)*

To the one, who believed in me and supported me with his love to embark on a journey five years ago that neither of *us* seemed to be sure where it might lead

Ioannis, P. Mitsakis
– Thank you for always being by my side from start to finish

No components of this Thesis have been submitted for any other degree and content is entirely the Author's own work. The Thesis conforms to University Regulations in respect of work limit, Thesis length and research process.

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Abstract

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There is nothing trivial about illicit consumption in contemporary societies. While cultural capital can play a significant role in structuring social mobility, the desire to acquire goods, whether legitimately or illegitimately, has a direct and obvious link to a widespread business crime of Theft from Stores (TFS). Thus far, over time, and throughout society, TFS has flourished in our consumer-focused society, and while it has been on the increase in recent years, it has received relatively limited attention in the research literature. Evidence mainly showed that TFS is extremely widespread, and is not just restricted to the store from which "goods" are stolen or where criminal loss is caused, and it often affects society as a whole. This commonly committed crime has seldom been researched from the viewpoint of victims, and the means of considering the publics reactions and attitudes towards such phenomenon was of importance in this study. Previous research has argued that causal societal response might pinpoint an alternative way of tackling criminality, and thus develop better effective strategies to confront and reduce TFS. Using attributions to understand the effects of causal explanations on respondent's reactions was this study's methodological standpoint.

This study ground its discussion on the structural reaction of the causal explanatory nature through the eyes of the victimized "key stakeholders" perceptions, by linking attitude research and TFS research. Thus, the purpose of this study was to develop more insights into how lay attitude toward the potential causes of TFS in general concur with, or differ from research accounts. Another important aspect of this study was to simplify the data and construct those reactions into specific domains that influence the formation of their attitudes toward the causes. Attitudes were measured by an attributional style design. The results of the study indicate the following: (1) lay attitudes varied between different backgrounds, and (2) a structural pattern underlying the formation of those attitudes toward the cause of TFS. Overall, the results captured belief values of seven specific goal-directed strategic domains that had found support on evolutionary reasoning and understanding.

The identification of those seven factors formed the structural framework of the lay attributes that reflect to domain-specific *social psychological mechanisms*, which have evolved to deal with the unique complexities of contemporary demands, and thus are selected for very specific goals and their attendant strategies. This study argues that the origins *why* some people might want to commit an offence of so-called "shoplifting" or "consumer theft", and serves an evolutionary psychology (EP) purpose, since results suggest that there are very clear ancient behaviours still at work here in our current consumer-obsessed environment. Overall, it makes sense in our consumer-obsessed cultures that so many people steal, since results reveal that such reasoning can take information a step further. More than just a means of acquisition, TFS allows people to immediately experience of other symbolic values through strategic solutions likely to be successful for human survival. Where resources are scarce, accruing "goods" illicitly form stores can help both males and females ensure they have the means they need to successfully pass on their genes to the next generation. This study followed the beliefs and desires created in "us" by "our" psychological mechanisms to explain those numerous conditional and circumstantial sought causes that compel people to accumulate resources by stealing. This study provides theoretical and practical contributions, given that TFS has not been surveyed before in such an exploratory research style. The discovery of the underlying goal-directed strategic effort that arouse from this study's factorial structure, will constitute central implications for further TFS research, and may also facilitate methodological advances.

Keywords: *Theft from Stores (TFS); Shoplifting; Consumer Theft; Stealing; Attitudes toward Causes, Causal Explanations; Quantitative Research; Attitude Scale Development; Attributional Style; Factorial Structure; Psychological Mechanisms; Evolutionary Psychology (EP) of Criminality*

The "World" of Stolen Goods: Culture and Evolution

1.1 The Business Crime Phenomenon

Business crime is a phenomenon that has emerged in different cultures, societies and countries worldwide (Schloenhardt, 1999). It has become global in scale and is no longer contained within geographical areas, to singular ethnic groups or to particular social systems. Schloenhardt expressed *business crime* as comprising a set of diverse phenomena into different types and forms of business crimes. Even so, it remains an intriguing *social phenomenon,* which maps into the phenomenology of moral panics about 'crime' (Levi, 2001). Thus, the complex socio-economic, demographic, psychogenic, and socio-behavioural realities of the past decade, as well as changes that occurred within society with its political and economic pressure, have *all* contributed to the escalation of social crime activities. Within these contexts this Thesis explores a wider understanding of, and explanation for a specific "Business Crime Phenomenon".

1.1.1 Victims of Crime – Businesses and Individuals

Crimes against businesses are often seen as 'victim-less' offences, and among the general public a commonly held perception (Perrone, 2000) is that capitalist businesses are profitable and insured, and are able to manage the event and absorb the losses (Johnston *et al.*, 1994). In fact, the consequences can be far reaching, impacting on areas such as; business viability and vitality (Wilson, 2003); personal well-being, (Crime Concern, 2002); economic growth (see Frate, 2004); and, the overall deterioration of society (Brand & Price, 2000; Frate, 2004). In many areas, business crime is linked intrinsically with issues of social exclusion and deprivation. The closure of essential amenities in isolated or disadvantaged areas, or the reluctance of consumers to patronise shops or social venues due to street crime and anti-social behaviour, all contribute to reducing the quality of life for people and negatively affects levels of employment and opportunities for economic regeneration and inward investment (Crime Concern, 2002, p. 1).

As recognized by the British Chambers of Commerce in 2004, the business sectors' contributions to employment growth and employment generation are important measures of its economic importance. Crimes against any business acts as a barrier to overall business growth and, as such, threatens the essential role that businesses play both in stimulating and sustaining economic regeneration (BCC, 2004), and loss of income and jobs (Frate, 2004). As, Levi (2001) concluded in his study 'what is bad for business is bad for society' (p. 865).

Research into crimes against business has traditionally received less attention than crimes against people and personal property, although this gap has started to close in recent years (Frate, 2004; Hopkins, 2002; Taylor, 2004). Attention was drawn towards the consistent finding that commercial premises face a greater risk of criminal victimisation (Bamfield, 2004, 2005; Home Office, 2005*a*; Taylor, 2004; Van Dijk & Terlouw, 1996). Instead of investing in capital or labour, precious resources are diverted rectifying criminal damage, crime prevention measures and higher insurance costs (Wilson, 2003).

Other research into business crime has been concentrated on small business enterprises, where multiple or chronic victimisation is common (BCC, 2004; Burrows *et al.*, 1999; Charlton & Taylor, 2003; Home Office, 2004*b;* Mirrlees-Black & Ross, 1995; Perrone, 2000; Taylor, 2004; Taylor & Mayhew, 2002). As Leaver (1993) observed, the efforts to deter crime by major businesses (specifically, retailers) will drive the problem towards the smaller, less-funded and protected businesses, which further increase larger businesses scale advantage. While businesses have developed effective management strategies to address the problems (Tonglet & Bamfield, 1997), most of the effective counter-measures deflect rather than deter theft (Leaver, 1993). Various surveys report that approximately half of the businesses surveyed had experienced a crime (for an empirical demonstration, see Frate, 2004; Mirrlees-Black & Ross, 1995; Taylor, 2004), with some estimates being up to 74% (Taylor, 2004). In fact, the results of a survey published by the British Chambers of Commerce in 2004 illustrates that nearly two-thirds of all businesses have been the victim of at least one type of business related crime in the past 12 months of 2003 (BCC, 2004).

Business crimes are closely linked to other social crime and disorder issues (Bark, 2002). For example, findings from a study claimed that violence and abuse (verbal or physical) directed at businesses and the general public, catering drug, alcohol dependency and disruptive (anti-social) behaviour, are all linked with business crime (Crime Concern, 2002).

All the above are why no single explanation can account for such a broad phenomenological problem, covering internal crimes (i.e. offences committed by employees), external crimes (i.e. offences committed by parties other than immediate employees) (Home Office, 2005*a*), a range of disorder activities (e.g. record higher prices paid by the public, violence to staff, low staff morale, loss of work due to physical and psychological damage, and even loss of life)(see Geason & Wilson, 1992*a;* and Geason & Wilson, 1992*b*), to the risk of financial loss producing overall damage to society (Taylor, 2004) or specifically to capitalism (see Bark, 2002).

Business crime can be taken to include all crimes and disorders committed "by" or "against" businesses and society as a whole (Home Office, 2005*a*), taking place in both public and/or private realm (Schuller, 2001). Throughout the Thesis, the concept business crime was taken to mean crimes committed "against" businesses, since it was the main interest of this study's investigation. Crimes committed *by* businesses are as equally as devastating and damaging, toward society, for example, corporate fraud, environmental violations, money laundering, public corruption, etc (for research in this, see Ainsworth, 2005; Kubasek, 1996). Other empirical studies have addressed the issue of the so called "white collar" crime (see, for example, Croall, 1992; Nelken, 1994) with studies, looking through a historical and contemporary perspective of such crimes (see Johnstone, 1998, for an excellent review).

1.1.2 Business and Individual Vulnerability

The business sector is the victim of various types of crime (Taylor, 2004). Businesses that suffer from crime may incur costs which they are forced to pass onto the general public in the form of higher prices (Frate, 2004), or deterioration in the quality of services that they provide (Wilson, 2003). If businesses are forced to relocate from a particular area because of the prevalence of crime, then local individuals are deprived of the businesses' services and potential employees lose the prospect of work (Wilson, 2003). Therefore, the cost imposed on businesses from business crime also reveals the relative costs to individuals (Levi, 2001).

Importantly, crimes committed against businesses are an issue not simply for the firms concern, but also for the wider public (Wilson, 2003). Business crime surveys stress the importance of combining the public and business impacts (see Frate, 2004), because the cost of such crimes are paid by both parties. Therefore, the vulnerable victims to business crime can be reflected in two ways; the 'corporate victimisation', and the 'public victimisation'. Crime surveys conducted with business vulnerability may focus on a single type of business (for example, small retail businesses) (see Charlton & Taylor, 2003), or a single type of crime (for example, employee and customer theft).

Business vulnerability is been recognized as serious problem in many countries, and as a result a more productive approach is being taken in preventing crime against businesses (Hopkins, 2002). For example, research into smaller businesses, which are practically vulnerable (Home Office, 2004*b*), notes that they lack a competitive market edge and hence experience greater difficulty in absorbing the direct and indirect costs of victimisation (Perrone, 2000). Furthermore, the retail industry has attracted a significant amount of research (Chapter Two for a debate), since figures are showing that crime against retail businesses have increased dramatically, and that the retail sector is at higher risk than any other type of business (Bamfield, 2005).

Bamfield's study investigated both the businesses as a corporate entity which has been a victim of crime (generally, but not exclusively, sustaining a financial loss), and the individual as a public entity which may also include those who work within a business or living within the community that had become victims of business crime, and the same approach was taken by Schuller (Schuller, 2001). Still, while interest in business victimization has received widespread attention (Hopkins, 2002; Schuller, 2001), research in individual (or public) victimisation is still limited (Schuller, 2001; Taylor & Mayhew, 2002). This may be due, that individual victimisation generated from business crime is treated less seriously (Schuller, 2001; Taylor & Mayhew, 2002), because the impact is indirect. The emphasis given in individual victim surveys has largely been focused on crimes against householders and their property (Perrone, 2000).

Its effects are widespread and cumulative, impacting upon the individual victims and business victims. It is clear that the overall picture of business crime victimisation is yet to be accounted for, since crime reports do not differentiate between whether the victim was an individual or a business, or mainly they remain limited to business surveys. Current empirical research tells us about the scale, costs and impact of crimes against particular business sectors that are affected the most. Thus, the information, data, and figures referred to were drawn on both official statistics and past empirical academic studies.

1.1.3 The Cost of Business Crime

The cost of crimes[1] committed against businesses has been born by somebody, notably argued by Arboleda-Florez *et al* (1977). The actor of any crime is the 'average person', and thus society creates such actors (Bark, 2002). Studies have shown in the past that the 'average person' commits the deed (Arboleda-Florez *et al.*, 1977; BRC, 2005). Generally when cost is stated, it tends not to specify the full impact of crime to individuals, and businesses.

Cost needs to encompass both financial impacts of crime and a 'notional' value for impacts which are not fully or directly reflected in the financial consequences of crime; for instance trauma and physical injury (see Brand & Price 2000, for a detailed discussion on the economic and social costs of crime).

Cesare Beccaria wrote in 1764 that: "the true measure of crimes is the harm done to society" (Beccaria, 1996). The social costs caused by crime can be broadly defined as composed of the allocation resources due to crime that could otherwise be used more productively, the production of ill-favoured commodities, transfer from victims to criminals, opportunity costs, and implicit costs associated with risks to life and health (Anderson, 1999, p. 616). Thus, a distinction should be made between the economic and social costs of crime (Perrone, 2000), and it would be dismissive *not* to include both impacts which should not be only expressed in monetary terms. According to Brand and Price (2000) the cost,

> '...does not suggest that it is either straightforward or always right to reduce the consequences of any crime into purely financial terms'
>
> (Brand & Price, 2000, p. vii)

Thus, the staggering economic and social costs regarding business crime refer to the full range of impacts, stated in monetary and individual terms, and each should receive attention by both academic and practitioners. Thus, the scale of crime in commercial sector organizations was, is, and will continue to be a cause for growing concern (BCC, 2004). Empirical studies are in a constant demand to develop a comprehensive view of overall levels of business crime (Burrows *et al.*, 1999).

Indeed crimes committed against business are not so simple (as cited throughout this chapter), and what can actually be accounted for is only part of a much greater problem. Therefore, in order to shed light on the total cost of business crime and how it affects various business sectors and the general public as a whole, it could be done by breaking down the total impact to get a good idea of the magnitude of different forms of business crime (see Brand & Price, 2000, for a factual picture of the total impacts of crimes in offence types). Most of the previous research addressing crime against business has emerged from five major sources. These are the International Commercial Crime Survey (ICCS) as the recent International Crime against Business Survey (ICBS), the British Retail Consortium (BRC), the Home Office publications of Commercial Victimisation Survey (CVS), the Co-operative Movement Retail Crime Survey (CMRCS), and the academic institution such as the Centre for Retail Research (CRR), Nottingham, for the European Retail Theft Barometer.

The ICBS was the first international study conducted in 1994 by retail businesses across a number of countries. Additionally, the ICCS was the first international study carried out in 1994 within businesses. The questionnaire focused on experiences of victimisation, information on perceptions, and attitudes to several aspects of everyday business. The survey was updated in 2000, and the latest ICBS product is the international victim survey that dealt with businesses across nine central-eastern European capital cities (cited in Frate, 2004). The BRC studies have covered the retail sector since 1993, that data being published in 1994 (see Burrows & Speed, 1994). Since then BRC has been publishing national surveys of retail crime (BRC, 2005), and there have also been edited collections published by academics. The Home Office research (e.g. CVS and CMRCS), has considered a number of aspects of business crime as having high credibility, but applies only to the Britain (Hopkins, 2002).

Such previous research have mainly explored the patterns, nature and the extent of business victimisation, measured crime rates, financial losses, and considering a number of other aspects of everyday business crime on an international, national, regional and local level. Writers, researchers, practitioners and policy makers at all levels currently tend to rely on the 'macro', and partial questionable information (Keinänen, 2003). Statistical information produced and quoted in published studies, will be discussed later in this chapter. Yet, based on current information of such offence, to formulate any general conclusion in the light of the available data would be hazardous. As seen in Chapter Two, surveys and various official statistics must underestimate the 'true extent' of TFS. Key information sources of crime against businesses on any level for all business crime types are detailed within Table 1.1-1 next.

Several methodological issues can be considered when reading the survey findings (see Frate, 2004, for a methodological comparison), since such surveys address business-related crimes using different methodologies and contrasting means (e.g. samples and time periods) (Bamfield, 2004; Frate, 2004; Hopkins, 2002). Nevertheless, the calculations of crime costs are complex and give, at best, an educated guess of the financial impact of the problem, and it is impossible to say with confidence what the cost of criminal activity in businesses. It should be acknowledged that many businesses may underestimate their losses due to their being unaware of crimes committed against them (such as 'shoplifting'), and/or those crimes are may not always reported to the police. Thus all the reported crimes are not recorded, and as a result all the offences are not processed in statistics (Wilson, 2003). Yet, the following estimations are indicative of the current total costs of business crime.

OVERVIEW OF SURVEY SOURCES ON CRIME AGAINST BUSINESSES

INTERNATIONAL (EUROPE)

- **International Commercial Crime Survey (International Crimes Against Businesses Survey- ICBS)** – A first international victimisation survey monitoring businesses across central-eastern Europe, undertaken in 1994 and in 2000 (Frate, 2004).
- **European Retail Theft Barometer (annual, Centre for Retail Research - CRR)** – Detailed and European comparison. Monitoring the costs of shrinkage and crime for Europe's Retailers (Bamfield, 2005).

NATIONAL & LOCAL (BRITISH)

- **British Retail Crime Survey (annual, British Retail Consortium - BRC)** – Detailed but sector-specific of retail businesses – information to the extent and cost of crime since 1993-4. A unique contribution to furthering knowledge of crime patterns against retailers in Britain (BRC, 2005).
- **Commercial Victimisation Survey (Home Office - CVS)** – The first national victimisation survey of retail and manufacturing premises, was primary undertaken in 1994 and in 2002 (Mirrlees-Black & Ross, 1995; Taylor, 2004).
- **British Chambers of Commerce (Business Crime Survey – BCC)** – Information about the extent and patterns of business Crime. Detailed information and multi-sectoral, but perhaps unlikely to include the 'harder to reach' employers (BCC, 2004).
- **Crime against Business in Scotland Survey (Scottish Business Crime Centre - SBCC)** – Multi-sectoral but geographically specific – information about the extent, nature costs of crime affecting Scottish businesses during 1998 (Burrows *et al.*, 1999; Burrows & Ingram, 1999).
- **British Crime Survey (annual, Home Office - BCS)** – Information about levels of crime, public attitudes to crime & includes statistics on workplace violence incidents, including risk factors and sectoral breakdowns (Dodd *et al.*, 2004; cited Hester & Westmarland, 2005).
- **Co-operative Movement Retail Crime Survey (annual, Home Office - CMRCS)** – Facilitated as a benchmark of the BRC, undertaken annually (Co-operative Movement, 2004).

A number of specific recent 'regional' and 'local' studies have also been conducted (primarily information are determined from the major national surveys - as listed above). These include;

- **North East Business Crime Survey (annual, North East Chambers of Commerce NECC)** (North East Chambers of Commerce, 2004)
- **Regional Survey on Crime Against Business (Thames Valley Chamber of Commerce Group - TVCC)** (Prosser, 2004)
- **Crime and Social Policy Study (Business sector crime and disorder- NACRO)** (Schuller, 2001).

Table 1.1-1 Key Information Sources of Crime against Businesses on an International, National, Regional and Local level for all Crime Types

The most recent study and the first Europe-wide comparative study on business crime in the industrial sectors (specifically, retail premises) were presented by the European Retail Theft Barometer from the Centre for Retail Research in 2005 and released by Bamfield. Bamfield found that the overall average shrinkage[2] (stock loss from crime or wastage) rate suffered by Europe's stores throughout Europe was 1.25% of turnover in the period of 2005[3]. This loss was equivalent to €32,417[4] million or €70.26 per head for 25 European countries surveyed. In addition, his study also reports that a significant increases in security spending was also perceived, costing retail security in Europe €7,633 million (Bamfield, 2005).

Bamfields' (2005) survey brings together data on shrinkage and crime from retailers throughout western and central Europe in a consistent fashion. Companies throughout Europe have been assessed by the same survey instrument, selected using the same methodology at the same time, thus overcoming a common problem in making inter-country comparisons based on different types of sample, questionnaires and variable methodologies. Retailers were asked to indicate their sales turnover and their levels of shrinkage as a proportion of turnover. Bamfield charts (seen in Table 1.1-2) the cost of retail crime from the 25 countries by their value of property stolen, plus their cost of security. The incidence of shrinkage varies considerably. For example, average shrinkage suffered by stores in United Kingdom, Portugal, Finland, Greece and France had the highest rates, while Switzerland and Austria had the lowest. "Retailers perceived" customers thieves to be responsible for 49% of shrinkage, employees for 30%, and suppliers for 7%. Internal error, process failure and pricing mistakes were thought to causes 14% of shrinkage, meaning that now 86% of shrinkage is crime-related (Bamfield, 2005).

Britain has the highest shrinkage rate in Western Europe and suffered more losses due to retail crime losses over the past decade than any other European nation surveyed by Bamfields' studies (Bamfield, 2004, 2005). British stores lost an average of 1.38% of their overall turnover in 2005. This level of retail crime costs every British resident an average of £73.69 per head (Bamfield, 2005). Similarly, a British annual survey announced that British firms have had the worst retail crime level of any European country for many years (BRC, 2005). According to the twelfth BRC annual retail crime survey in 2004, the total estimated cost of crime, including crime prevention, to the British retail industry was £2.13 billion[5] compared to £1.96 billion in 2003. Therefore, the total losses from retail crime in 2004 are estimated to have increased (again) by £420 million since 2003, while the total cost of crime, including crime prevention, has increased by £170 million.

EUROPEAN LEVELS OF SHRINKAGE			
COUNTRIES	SHRINKAGE (AS % TURNOVER) 2005	2004	Percentage Change
Austria	0.95%	0.97%	-2.1%
Belgium/Luxembourg	1.26%	1.32%	-4.5%
Denmark	1.21%	1.31%	-7.6%
Finland	1.35%	1.42%	-4.9%
France	1.31%	1.40%	-6.4%
Germany	1.07%	1.16%	-7.8%
Greece	1.31%	1.41%	-7.1%
Iceland	1.10%	1.18%	-6.8%
Ireland	1.22%	1.34%	-9.0%
Italy	1.26%	1.36%	-7.4%
The Netherlands	1.22%	1.35%	-9.6%
Norway	1.29%	1.38%	-6.5%
Portugal	1.36%	1.41%	-3.5%
Spain	1.28%	1.36%	-5.9%
Sweden	1.29%	1.36%	-5.0%
Switzerland	0.89%	0.89%	0.0%
United Kingdom	1.38%	1.59%	-13.2%
W Europe Weighted Average	**1.24%**	**1.35%**	**-7.8%**
Czech Republic	1.40%	1.38%	1.4%
Hungary	1.36%	1.31%	3.8%
Poland	1.29%	1.34%	-3.7%
Slovakia	1.40%	1.30%	7.1%
Baltic States *	1.27%	1.05%	21.0%
C Europe Weighted Average	**1.32%**	**1.32%**	**0.0%**
Overall Average	**1.25%**	**1.34%**	**-6.7%**

[* Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania]

Table 1.1-2 Key Results of the European Theft Barometer 2004/2005
Source: Derived from Bamfield's (2005) Study

Econometric analyses (Charlton & Taylor, 2003) have been undertaken to test the possible existence of a relationship between unemployment and crime levels. Findings suggests a positive, significant relationship between unemployment and crime, as unemployment may result in an individual turning to criminal activities to maximize utility (see, for example Elliott & Ellingworth, 1996, for a debated review). Nevertheless, there are clear links between drugs and crime and it is estimated that about half of all recorded crime has some drug-related element, particularly shoplifting, burglary, criminal damage and violence. One national study conducted by the National Treatment Outcomes Study (1998), has shown that the most commonly reported crime committed by drug users was shoplifting (Gossop *et al.*, 1998).

Clearly, crime and disorder can have a major impact businesses' viability and their ability to invest in future growth and development (see Wilson, 2003), and they have increased operating costs. For example, he found that whose businesses had been affected by crime had faced higher insurance costs as a result, had been obliged to make alterations to their building's layout in order to improve security, and reported that the effect of crime upon their business had been to disrupt trading in some way (Wilson, 2003). The Guardian reported on March 7th 2005 that companies have called for greater security to protect their premises after new figures showed that crimes against businesses had increased "dramatically" (cited in Guardian Unlimited, 2005). An insurance company AXA said the number of claims settled in the last quarter of 2004 as a result of criminal activity, jumped by 22% compared with the previous three months.

In addition, there is the impact that business crime can have on the wider community, which may lose investment, employment opportunities and services. A study commissioned by Checkpoint Systems from Retail Forward, Inc., reported that in 2002 that wider events such as an economic downturn will increase inventory shrinkage from customer theft. According to that study the growth in customer theft coincided with the economic boom of the 1990s, thus the current depressed economic climate will lead to the pronounced rise in customer theft. According to Frank Badillo customer theft 'will be with us for at least as long as the economy continues to be in the doldrums' (Zalud, 2002). Thus published data declared that theft related crime was cited to be the most common, and was increasing each year, with businesses having the highest proportions of losses suffering by the same type of crime (Taylor, 2004). Customers were perceived and achieved to be the predominant cause of retail crime losses for many years in a row (BRC, 2005). A long-term analysis perceived in Table 1.1-1 from customers, verifies Badillo's claims.

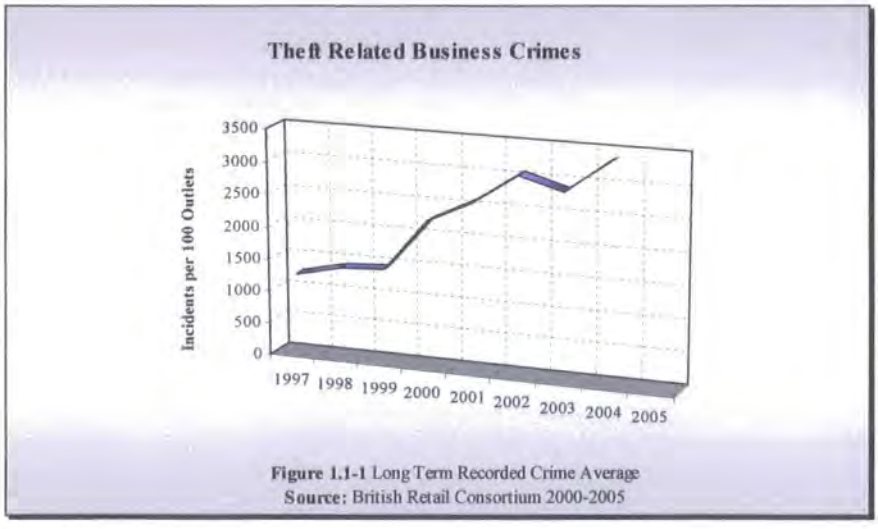

Figure 1.1-1 Long Term Recorded Crime Average
Source: British Retail Consortium 2000-2005

Over a period of eight years (cited in BRC, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004), the impact of customer theft in stores has been increasingly worrying. By looking at the average estimations from 1997 till 2004 inclusively, the average number of incidence per 100 outlets was 2,286. The increasing concern at this time is that since 1997 the number of incidents per outlets has increases by over 100%. However, this is only based on British national retail statistics, research beyond Europe can add further concern, raging from USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the Netherlands (see Bamfield, 2005). Various crime surveys from those different countries state a widespread recognition that in general crime against businesses is at its "worst", with the issue of customer theft being their main crime concern. Thus, the findings from those surveys serve to highlight how the phenomenon of business crime is global (Frate, 2004).

Surveys on crime against businesses provide a clear account of the impact in specific business sectors such as retailers and manufacturing premises. It is acknowledged by some key surveys that specific business sectors experience higher rates of victimization from crime than other business sectors (Mirrlees-Black & Ross, 1995; Taylor, 2004). Those particular premises are being highlighted for research in actually explaining crime patterns against business. However, it is still recognized by Hopkins that more needs to be done to examine *why* some business sectors appear to experience higher rates of victimization than other, since research in this area has failed to ask why some business sectors are mainly victims of crime (Hopkins, 2002). Despite this concern, the results from major surveys are important in highlighting an overall pattern and extent of business victimisation across different business sectors, in order to identify that specific business premise having a higher risk of experiencing particular types of crime.

To develop strategies to reduce and prevent theft related crimes, it is important to secure regular and accurate information on the levels and types of business crime, to develop mechanisms to provide advice and support for business victims of crime, and to improve the links between business and existing crime prevention partnership and raising businesses' awareness of their capacity and responsibility to reduce crime (Frate, 2004, p. 158). Like every other area of management, it must necessarily be based on accurate information in order to assess progress within society. As David Frost, BCC Director General said:

> 'Crime has an obvious impact on business productivity and economic growth is threatened unless the problem is tackled.....we must do more to confront the problem if we are to strengthen and support regeneration.'
>
> (BCC, 2004)

1.1.3.1 The Uses and Limitations of Crime Statistics

Paul Wiles in 1975 stated that, 'in popular debate about crime as a social problem on question always dominates all others: how much crime is there in our society and is it increasing or decreasing?". To answer these questions people usually turn to criminal statistics (Murphy, 1986, p. 2). The production and significance of criminal statistics have become accepted as part of our everyday lives and yet the point at issue is,

> '... not whether we should trust the statistics which are generated, but rather to what use we put our scepticism' (Rutter & Giller, 1983, p. 15)

Generally, criminal statistics play a paradoxical role in academic research (Rutter *et al.*, 1998). They are expected to serve as primary sources of validation for theories about the extent of crime, crime patterns and behaviour, but at the same time, cautions about the dangers of accepting crime statistics at face value are increasing (Murphy, 1986). Researchers do not know the total population of offenders and offences as they believe that their sample is representative of the total. According to Murphy, studies based on official statistics, where these statistics are taken to represent actual crime, suffer from the fact that records only contain a sample, produced in unknown ways, of a population which has unknown characteristics. Following Murphy's argument, then, the initial problem with criminal statistics is the degree of accuracy or reliability of those statistics. Nevertheless, by acknowledging the problems criminal official statistics have with accuracy and reliability, researchers have supplemented past academic studies by examining other sources in an attempt to discover how great the number of offences and offenders "really" are, and how complete a picture (and not 'myths') criminal statistics provide. Publicising a powerful myth and embed it into the 'need' for pervasive surveillance technologies will be acknowledged in the last chapter, Chapter Five.

Most of the limitations inherent in official statistics stem from two main problems. Based on a British study the first is that law enforcement measures of crime are based only on those crimes which are reported and recorded to police (MacDonald, 2002). The other main problem is that the way crime statistics are compiled and categorized does not always reflect the complex and multi-faceted nature of crime and criminal justice (Rutter & Giller, 1983, p. 15). Rutter and Giller identified five stages in the process by which a criminal act becomes an official statistic: 1) definition of criminal behaviour; 2) recognition that a crime has been committed; 3) decision to respond to the crime by notifying police; 4) recording of the offence by police; and, 5) identifying a suspect (Rutter & Giller, 1983). Because official statistics are compiled at all of these stages, any limitations within each stage of the process could suggest the nature of the biases statistics introduce (refer to Rutter and Giller's (1983) for a stage-by-stage examination).

Questions are raised about whether statistics, or research findings dealing with different types of crime rates of convictions or convicted offenders, provide any sort of valid picture of the extent or the characteristics of crime. However, studies suggest that official statistics do not provide a measure of the true level of criminal activity (Rutter & Giller, 1983; Rutter *et al.*, 1998) and are increasingly criticized for their likelihood to underestimate the extent of crime (MacDonald, 2002), simply because not every offender is caught. As MacDonald believes the hidden criminality or as quoted "dark figure" of crime is a consequence of two sources of error, namely, under-reporting and under-recording (MacDonald, 2002). Thus, a useful distinction can be made when considering dark figure crimes between those offences which are not reported and other types of unrecorded criminality. These reason are considered enough to prompt a careful examination of the value of crime statistics and to determine what biases they can introduce (Rutter & Giller, 1983). Knowledge about the bias in statistics is important because such bias can colour what we know about the relationship between crime rates and such factors as age, social status, ethnic origin, educational attainment and gender (Ouston, 1984). Additionally, there are two major problems with these criminal statistics; questions of representativeness, and validity.

There have been a number of studies which have attempted to asses, the 'dark figure' of crime by concentrating on businesses and its context. For example, specific studies at a department store for customer (Cameron, 1964; Robin, 1963), or employees as offenders (Oliphant & Oliphant, 2001; Tryon & Kleiner, 1997; Wimbush & Dalton, 1997). Most investigations explicitly concerned with such dark figure research, however, have tended to take one of two forms; the victim or victimisation survey (Frate, 2004), and the self-report of crime study (see Murphy, 1986).

Crime victim surveys generally provide clearer indications of the extent, nature and pattern of crime than official statistics or even self-report surveys (see Rutter & Giller, 1983), because they are useful in demonstrating that there is considerably more crime occurring than ever appeared in statistics. They too, have important methodological and theoretical faults (Murphy, 1986; Rutter & Giller, 1983; Rutter *et al.*, 1998). Indeed, the main problem of empirical *macro data* is that only part of the total business crimes is registered by the police (Keinänen, 2003), and recorded in official statistics. However, Douglas believed that 'macro analysts', as he terms, have used social rates as independent evidence for assessing and supporting descriptions about society. He argued, however, that social statistics are not scientific facts but the product of the commonsense interpretations of official and agents responsible for their processing (Douglas, 1971). So, theorists in business crime unquestioningly using statistics, rely upon the commonsense understandings of others, rather than their own (Douglas & Johnson, 1978).

The problem of under-reporting and under-recording fluctuates between crimes so that, for example, customer and employee theft is less likely to be reported to the police than other types of theft. According to Charlton and Taylor's (2003) findings, customer theft accounted for 70% cent of all incidents of crime experienced but accounted for only 42% of all incidents reported to police. They concluded by showing that while burglary and robbery incidents were substantially more likely to be reported to police than other types of crime, customer and employee theft were unlikely to be reported. In all crime types, completed crimes were more likely to be reported than attempted crimes. Reasons for not reporting crimes are complex and varied but perceived seriousness of the crime, insurance claim requirement, previous victim history, attitudes towards the police and time and effort involved in reporting are some of the major factors (Charlton & Taylor, 2003). Furthermore, the British Chamber of Commerce (BCC) conducted a crime against business survey (in 2004) titled 'Setting Business Free from Crime' whose findings suggested that over half of businesses surveyed did not report all crimes suffered to the police and that 16% did not report any crimes at all.

This significant underreporting of crime was attributed by the authors to a lack of confidence in police response and perceived inadequacy of penalties imposed on offenders. The vast majority suggested that they would not report a crime if there was relatively small loss or damage to their premises or property, and others might not report a crime out of fear that it would increase their insurance costs (BCC, 2004). Policing and effective crime reduction strategies depend fundamentally on the availability and analysis of high quality data. It is important to investigate how much and what type of crime may be under-reported to police, and why particular crimes go unreported.

Therefore, identifying the extent of the problem will then assist in development of strategies to encourage greater reporting and improve the accuracy of police data (Carcach & Makkai, 2002). However, quantifying and detailing crime specifically targeted at business premises is currently very difficult, since, one of the major reasons for this, is that, there are high levels of under-reporting of crime or their records are based on what they think or believe to be the true levels of various business related losses. For instance, only a minority of crimes against retail businesses are detected or witnessed and the value losses businesses face over a period is normally calculated from estimated shrinkage (Bamfield, 2004). Therefore, various studies reflect a growing tone of scepticism and caution among those in use of crime statistics (criticised in Chapter Five 'myths'). This research is concerned with the investigation of a theft related crime against businesses, and will rely on official statistics and past empirical academic studies that studied the offence.

1.1.4 Types of Criminal Activity Inflicted on Businesses

This section is devoted to reviewing the types of business related crimes. It should be acknowledged that the list presented in Table 1.1-2 is not a comprehensive inventory of all crimes facing businesses today. Studies however, are able to differentiate between different types of criminal activity within businesses by published international statistics (distinguished in Table 1.1-1). There is a constant search to identify those business sectors most at risk and repeated victimization, so that crime prevention measures can be matched to the types of risk (Frate, 2004). In an earlier discussion, this study reported by the cited surveys that there is a specific business sectors that is mainly at higher risk than other sectors and that a particular type of related crime within that business sector can affect the industry the most. As mapped in Table 1.1-3, various surveys that consider different types of business related crimes, tend to classify the criminal activity as either internally or externally generated (BRC, 2005; Home Office, 2005*a*).

TYPES OF BUSINESS RELATED CRIMES

External Crime	**Internal Crime**
▪ Customer Theft (i.e. without paying for goods)	▪ Staff Theft (i.e. money, goods, stationary)
▪ Robbery & Till Snatches (i.e. illicit removal)	▪ Staff Fraud (i.e. misappropriation of assets)
▪ Damage & Violence (i.e. vandalism, arson)	▪ False Accounting (i.e. fake statements)
▪ Fraud (i.e. cheque/credit card, return policies)	▪ Blackmail & Corruption (i.e. use of
▪ Burglary (i.e. beak and enter)	company property for personal benefit)

Table 1.1-3 Accounts of Business Crime Types
Source: Driven from the British Retail Consortium (2005) and Home Office (2005*a*).

All those different types of business related crimes visual in Table 1.1-3 assert a particular level of impact in distressing the environment of businesses. A number of studies give a clear indication that a specific criminal activity is one of the most frequently and commonly committed criminal types of business related crime than any other type, which itself contributes towards the highest prevalent rate of retail crime losses. For example, the five key survey sources seen in Table 1.1-1 provide some indication of the patterns and extent of business crimes, locally, nationally and internationally. Largely, these sources confirm the impact of the term 'strategic offences' (Svensson, 2002), that means such theft offences are linked to other goal directed strategies. Moreover, the comparative data from those surveys suggests that "customers" are the main and major source of business crime losses, and despite the different methodologies employed, those surveys have produced similar findings. As mentioned earlier, the European Retail Theft Barometer compared results of shrinkage surveys completed by retail premises across twenty-five European countries, and believed that customer theft was the most commonly committed with the highest prevalent rate of 49% of shrinkage (Bamfield, 2005).

In addition to Bamfield's study, various British national surveys have also shown that businesses have particularly higher rates of shrinkage from certain crime types. The most recent detailed and authoritative national studies have been published by the BRC in their Retail Crime Cost survey (BRC, 2005), and the 1993 and 2002 CVS (Mirrlees-Black & Ross, 1995; Taylor, 2004). Both the BRC and the CVS have published rates for businesses across a number of offence types, and considered theft by customers as being the highest rate of business victimisation. In brief, customer theft represents virtually half the value amount lost from crime. For instance, the CVS recognised by its facts and figures that customers account for 58% of shrinkage (Taylor, 2004), and BRC estimated them to account for an average of 41.5% of shrinkage (BRC, 2005).

Various national and international surveys indicate that businesses (specifically, retailers) are threatened (mainly in terms of profitability) with certain business crime types (Bamfield, 2004; Davies & Willans, 2003) and some having particularly high rates of victimisation (Frate, 2004; Levi, 2001). Thus, even if business crime as a whole has decreased (BCC, 2004), theft related crimes increased (Co-operative Movement, 2004) (Hopkins, 2002). Recent surveys confirm that the extent of business crime remains obstinately high in absolute terms, and the single largest threat in terms of profitability to the industry is *customer theft* (BRC, 2005). Hence, as it has been estimated that consumers engaging in an unethical acquisitions, such as customer theft, have cost businesses a significant amount as it accounts for the highest proportion of recorded offences, and this triggered an area of growing concern for the retail sector (Bamfield, 2004).

Many businesses in the retail sector have to face such a threat on a daily basis, and as it has been forecasted by the Home Office to continue to be the case (Co-operative Movement, 2004). Such survey reported by the Home Office state that the total number of customer theft incidents increased by 36% over the previous twelve months. In fact, the problems are, if anything, getting worse, and increasing dramatically (West, 2005*a*). According to the latest findings from Business Crime Index claims database, shows the number of claims settled as a result of criminal activity in the last quarter of 2004 rose by over 22% (in fact 22.76%) compared to the previous quarter. The type of claim businesses were most likely declare as a victim was out of theft attacks from customers (Guardian Unlimited, 2005; West, 2005*a*). Adding to the above, the BRC reported an increase on the total cost of business crime from customer theft (BRC, 2005). Thus, the crime of theft from businesses poses 'a problem of social and economic significance' (Kallis & Vanier Dinoo, 1985, p. 459), and accounted for the highest number of offences in the retail sector.. However, despite the extent and significant of theft retailed crimes and its statistics published by official statistics agencies and other organisations, there has not always been a strong research focus on theft related crimes literature, such as customer theft (Tonglet, 2001).

Earlier in Table 1.1-2, lists a range (though not all) of business crime types that primarily concentrate on traditional forms of crime extending into the business arena. Specifically excluded from this review is any examination of electronic crime (Sommerville, 2003; Whitehead & Gray, 1999). Moreover, the aftershock imposed on society covering a range of public disorder activities with only an indirect impact on business operations are expressly excluded (Brand & Price, 2000). While failing short of a comprehensive working definition, this study extends to crimes against businesses – the person, and it enables both internally and externally generated crimes.

It has also been necessary to restrict the types of businesses examined by this study. To seek to provide a comprehensive review of the existing materials relevant to all business sectors and all types of criminal activities within the industry, is a formidable task. The review will therefore be restricted to the retail sector and specifically the crime of theft from customers; which invariably comprises the overwhelming crime concerns of business operations. Also, most systematic official and past academic surveys into business crime appears to have been conducted in the retail sector, as it's the largest estimated proportion faced with business victimisation. Thus the following section deal with the type of crime more commonly committed than other type by a large segment of the population (Klemke, 1982).

1.1.5 The Criminal Activity by Consumer Capitalists

General antisocial and fraudulent behaviour (see Caruana *et al.*, 2001), burglary (Curtin *et al.*, 2001), employee theft (see Manweller, 2004; Oliphant & Oliphant, 2001; Tryon & Kleiner, 1997; Wimbush & Dalton, 1997; Zalud, 2002), the ethical ramifications of workplace activities (see Kidwell Jr & Kochanowski, 2005), are perceived to inflict damage to stores and other capitalist institutions, and in turn disrupt the economy as a whole. The retail sector is one of the largest victims of crime against businesses (Hopkins, 2002) having a significant impact on the net profitability of stores (Bamfield, 2004), and having a higher risk of experiencing a commonly committed and normally perceived type of crime (Bamfield, 2005).

Customer theft is thought to affect enormously and distress the retail premises the most (Bamfield, 2005; Burrows *et al.*, 1999; Co-operative Movement, 2004). Retail businesses were most likely to declare their store as a victim, due to the act of theft by their own *customers* (West, 2005*b*). Legally, in 1968, the official definition of the Theft Act was defined and prosecuted if 'a person is guilty of theft if dishonesty appropriates property belonging to another with the intention of permanently depriving the other of it' (Home Office, 2004*a*). Divergences within business schemes and official strategies caused the definition to be modified.

Hence, it has been recently classified to amplify the current law from store units, and seen as a separate rule for recorded volume crime, framed within the legal definition of in store theft, as:

> 'Theft of any property within shop, whether or not it is for sale, should be recorded as theft from shop.' [Rule classification 46] (Home Office, 2004*a*)

The rule declares "a person" to be an offender if they have entered into a shop as a trespasser with intent to steal - this should be counted as in store theft, unless the offender has already been charged with burglary at the time of recording (Home Office, 2004*a*). This study highlight the importance of this particular offence, more commonly committed than any other type of crimes by a larger segment of the population (supported by research later in Chapter Two). This specific and widespread thievery offence may take many forms (Morgan, 2002; White *et al.*, 1999), from customers switching or removing price tags (Tonglet, 2001), returning stolen goods for fraudulent refunds (Schmidt *et al.*, 1999), to professional groups operating 'en masse' (Kolman & Wasserman, 1991). There is no typical would-be thief (Morgan, 2002), yet as discussed in Chapter Five, studies do tend to classify this type of thief in order to combat it. Overall, they may be people you know, they may be well-dressed, appear pregnant, or be pushing a stroller, they may be young or old, wealthy or poor. Some thieves may also be known to employees, who sometimes allow friends to steal, sell them goods at a low price, or intentionally damage items so that they can be bought at a reduced price (White *et al.*, 1999). A comprehensive literature review will be addressed in the following Chapter, since this chapter was only to paint the picture of the problem and prepare the justification of this study. The BRC 2005 survey reports the would-be causes in retailing and offers the percentage of each of the major type of crime, as Figure 1.1-2 reveal. This was one of the first studies conducted by retailers, which asked to break down what they believe to be the main cause of their losses.

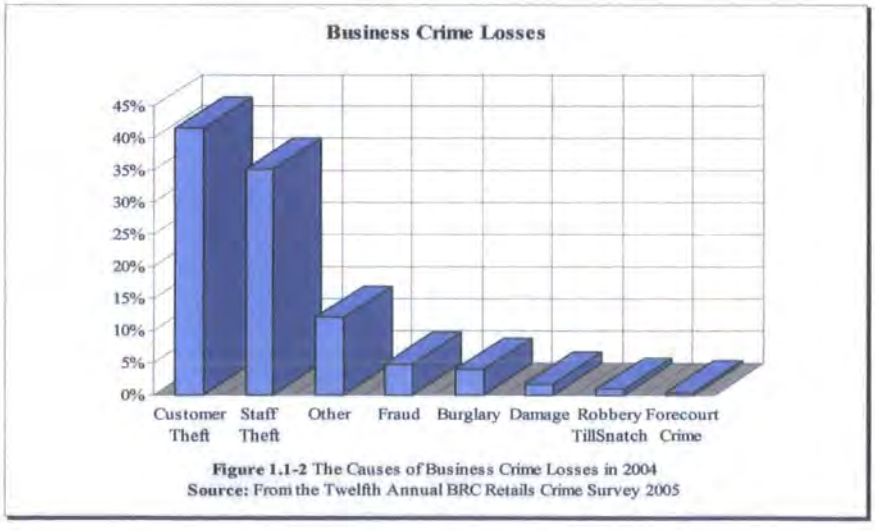

Figure 1.1-2 The Causes of Business Crime Losses in 2004
Source: From the Twelfth Annual BRC Retails Crime Survey 2005

The BRC 2005 reports that the greatest losses in retailing were thought to be attributed to the retailers' customers. Customer thieves are thought to be responsible for 41.5% of losses, followed by 35.1% for employees/staff theft, and the rest. Thus, the collusion by customers stealing were found to be equivalent to the largest proportion of retail profit, as estimated to have cost the British retail sector £589 million in 2004[7], a "44% increase" from 2003. In addition, on an average number of known incidences of customer theft per 100 retail outlets has increased in 2004 to 3,385 after a declining in 2003 to 2,886. This indicated a worrying upward trend in both the overall value and the number of incidents (BRC, 2005), as reported earlier in the chapter (Figure 1.1-1). Adding to those numbers, a report issued by the Co-operative Group in 2004 has revealed an escalation of 39% based around reported incidence of losses in relation to customer theft (Co-operative Movement, 2004). Yet, only a minority of this type of crime is detected and witnessed at the time (Krasnovsky & Lane, 1998), latter or possible never (Beck & Willis, 1998). For example, while events as burglary, arson, criminal damage and robbery are usually clearly identified and verified around the time they occur, this is not the case for conventional theft by customers and employees.

The total loss caused by customer theft can be even greater, since those values relate to incidents "witnessed" as theft (principally by arrest) (BRC, 2005). Overall, the business related crime of Theft from Stores (TFS) is noted as an under-reported offence (Brand & Price, 2000). While, most TFS goes unreported (cited in Geason & Wilson, 1992*a;* Geason & Wilson, 1992*b*), the recorded events only represents the *"tip of the iceberg"* (Hayes, 1996). An American study maintained that four out of ten people had stolen from a store at some time in their lives (Kallis & Vanier Dinoo, 1985). Similar findings are also supported by other result, which is methodically reviewed in the following chapter.

An influential study however, conducted by Farrington (1999) brought together a number of studies on TFS and found that police recorded crimes reflected only between 1 in 100, and worsen 1 in 1000 incidents in two department stores. It has been argued that it is difficult to measure conventional theft directly, since TFS is far more widespread than facts show, with substantial numbers of offences going undetected now (Bamfield, 2004), as well as in the past (Cameron, 1964). Even so, the BRC estimates that the undetected customer crime has approximately cost £400 million in 2004, with an increase of £115 million from 2003 (BRC, 2005). Whilst the different types of business related crime represents to be major contributors to the erosion of the net profitability of stores (Bamfield, 2004), it has been expressed that theft by customers is more distressing to us as individuals.

Hundreds of European retailers were surveyed to determine the foremost criminal activity towards societies disadvantage and Bamfield (2004, p. 240) reports that:

> 'Although retailers were showing increased concerns about the cost of theft by employees, European retailers regarded customer theft as their biggest problem.'
>
> (Bamfield, 2004, p. 240)

There is a lack of knowledge within the retail industry about the extent of the problem and how to overcome it. TFS was anticipated by Moyer in 1976, who predicted that it would continue to be a major concern within businesses and society (Moyer, 1976). A key current activity (cited in BRC, 2005) is the effort exerted by organisational management to control this type of theft, which involves obtrusive methods or unobtrusive electronic devices. For example increasing store security focuses on using human security officers, electronic tags, videos, cameras etc. As reviewed in chapter Two, TFS related studies argue that such methods are expensive and often inconvenient, and may invade the privacy of a store's legitimate shopper (Biever Celeste, 2004; Griffin, 1989). Since, those methods require little understanding of why a person steals (Griffin, 1989) research suggests that effective crime prevention strategies is depended on understanding why those people offend in the first place (see Beck & Willis, 1998; Gill, 2000).

To tackle any type of crime it is important in the first place is to better understand its root causes (Anon, 1996). Guffey's et al, (1979) argue that the most effective methods to combat business theft is to develop a comparative understanding of peoples' attitudes toward the problem which may have a subtle and long-range effect on store patronage (Guffey *et al.*, 1979). Knowledge of attitudes about TFS and its causes may be a way to tackle the problem. The more we know about what motivates and conversely discourages TFS attempts the more cost effective loss control efforts become. Businesses are wanting to locate credible and usable information regarding the causes and effects of TFS on their priorities, since it was predicted,

> '...that shoplifting will probably never be eliminated. However, if retailers can more fully understand its roots, they may have greater success in their campaigns to discourage it...'
>
> (Cox et al 1993, p. 224)

1.1.6 Peoples Opinion and Awareness of Crime

This section attempts to discuss the level of public and businesses awareness in relation to what they think may cause someone to steal. This section assesses peoples and firms' perceptions to the problem and what may influence and determine their understanding of the crime causation. There are several aspects that determine the effect peoples opinion have on defining a cause of crime and preventing crime, which earlier studies found notable successes (see JHSA, 1995).

Similar studies include how well the public understand the causes of crime and the extent of public fear and feelings of insecurity about crime (see Flanagan, 1987). However, where and how the public, business management and government parties obtain information about crime becomes crucial. General knowledge of crime causation has been researched far less than peoples opinion about crime (JHSA, 1995). This unevenness in knowledge is currently perceived as a curious one by some scholars because they assume that the ability to respond to criminal justice issues requires a basic knowledge about crime causation (Roberts & Hough, 2002).

Understanding the dynamics and limitations of public opinion can provide some insights into what is needed to increases general knowledge and understanding of the cause(s) of crime and thus criminal behaviour. This, in turn, is essential to any process of getting public, private and public systems to support for alternative prevention policies and programs (JHSA, 1995, p. 20). Assessing the precise impact of information from external sources have on peoples attitudes of the world and on their actions is very challenging (Garside & Stenson, 2004). For example, this challenge has triggered the interest in studies on what media representation matters to people.

A study conducted by the Information Centre about Asylum and Refugees (ICAR) exploring the possible links between media reports about asylum and community tension, including harassment in London, found strong evidence of a link between media coverage and peoples' attitudes. Studies claim that the mass media is the major source of information for the public about what may cause a criminal behaviour in general, and this in turn may frame public understanding of crime (Garside & Stenson, 2004; ICAR, 2004). A 2004 survey on public attitude of confidence in justice revealed that the mass media, such as television and press, was the primary source of crime causation and prevention information (Hough & Roberts, 2004).

People's attitudes to offenders and the cause of crime are largely dictated by the form of information about crime provided by the external channels. This phenomenon, especially the increasing demonstration of offender, is expressed by Tony Blair, when he first used one of the formative sound bites of New Labour, *"tough on crime and tough on the cause of crime"*, in a interview in January 1993 (Garside & Stenson, 2004). Generally, actual evidence contributes less than media sources. For example, the recent 2004 British Social Attitudes survey, revealed that a over two-thirds of the British public has much more confidence in the official response to crime than to their own experiences. This suggests that news media coverage of the "national" response to crime plays an important role in affecting pubic opinion; but, at the end of the day, confidence in the local justice response is probably more important than actual experiences and evidence of the national response (cited in Home Office, 2004*c*).

Given the public reliance on the media for information, the media's approach to crime coverage can have a considerable effect on how powerless the public feels about the crime of theft and theft behaviour. This can have an efficient effect in business sectors as well as in the law enforcement systems ability to appreciate and support the more proactive crime control approaches.

Concern about crime has political connotations (Lea & Young, 1993). According to Lea and Young (1993) the so-called conservative 'law and order' approach to criminal justice relies heavily on fear generation, and to reacting punitively after the fact. Despite having a proven track record of ineffectiveness in terms of crime prevention, this approach continues to find more immediate public support if, for no other reason, than it seems to be better than doing nothing. As Fairweather (1982) puts it, "strong-arm solutions appeal when you are powerless and nobody seems to be offering anything else" (quoted in JHSA, 1995, p. 21). The beliefs that public officials hold about the government and criminal justice policies supported by the majority come from three main sources - shared conventional wisdom, the perception of an association between electoral success and support for repressive criminal justice policies, and the publication of survey findings that seem to demonstrate public support for harsher sentencing.

Public officials' understanding of public opinion affects the kinds of criminal justice policies adopted. However, it is unclear whether public officials correctly interpret public opinion surveys on criminal justice issues (JHSA, 1995, p.22). Studies on public opinion polls are used by legislators as evidence of public approval of their policies, by criminal justice professionals who seek to protect aspects of the system against calls for change, by the news media and by many advocacy groups (Hough & Roberts, 2004; Roberts & Hough, 2002). More research and increased public education are important elements in overcoming the tendency to keep reactive, approaches as the mainstays of criminal justice policy (for example see JHSA, 1995). A recent survey research has shown that the public is aware and has an overall confidence in the criminal justice systems (Hough & Roberts, 2004). However, this public support does not automatically translate into active participation from the public in crime prevention activities.

Reasons for the public scepticism about crime prevention need to be identified so that strategies can be developed for attitude change, and for prevention campaigns (Roberts & Hough, 2002). Public education on the intricacies of crime prevention through social development is needed (see JHSA, 1995, p. 20-23). Roberts and Hough (2002) claim that a major shift needs to take place concerning research on understanding the impact knowledge and opinion have on the different kinds of criminal offence and crime prevention policies and strategies used. Specifically, opinion polls on what cause(s) someone to steal might arouse public and media interest.

Earlier polls have in the past provided inadequate information for researchers because their questions tend to deal with criminal justice and prevention issues the same way as when seeking consumer preferences information. The consumer preference approach tends to underestimate the public's ability to understand and respond to complex questions. In order to strengthen public knowledge about the causes of crime, criminal justice and crime prevention/control issues, needs to be more research information about the public's awareness of these subjects (see Flanagan, 1987; Roberts & Hough, 2002).

1.1.7 Identifying Potential Stakeholders of Business Crime

Research into effective crime control strategies indicated a range of measures which can significantly impact on levels of crime and disturbance, especially if implemented in combination. Theory should be effective and useful to business practitioners and criminal justice policy makers, because research will use theory to identify wider processes that others such as practitioners will not see.

The complexity of business crime challenges are putting growing demands on businesses as well as society, to actively engage with all types of key parties involved in the process. A party is any individual or group that is interested in, affected by or is involved in some way with the subject issue (Huczynski & Buchanan, 2001). For example, for the sake of this study it is anyone who has a stake in any TFS activities or issues. That party may also be called as "key stakeholder" in the process (Herman, 2004), and can include some or all of, public, private organisations, and government bodies. McCold and Wachtel (McCold & Wachtel, 2003) proposed a conceptual methodological theory of restorative criminal justice process, by involving those most directly affected by a crime, called the "primary stakeholders," through determining how best to repair the harm caused by the offence. They described those primary stakeholders as those key parties most (in)directly affected and involved by a crime. The study identified three different populations who are interested in, affected by are involved in some way with the criminal incident – the general public, the businesses, and law enforcement. Those key stakeholders in the process can be also seen as victims and *all* have the responsibility to acknowledge how the causes of the crime have harmed each.

Initially the criminal was considered the best source of information in the quest to identify the true extent of crime and its causes, to create effective strategies to prevent such behaviour it the society. However, this approach has not provided the desired results. Therefore, a new method based on the criminal incidents experienced by the general public and businesses was thought of: this method is known as a victimisation survey.

For this study, a representative sample of the British population was approached to give their attitudes toward the cause(s) of theft behaviour from businesses. The survey was expected to provide information on the victims' perceptions and experience of the propensity for someone to commit the specific crime in relation to intellectual reporting of what may cause such offence. Therefore, to understand the crime phenomenon from the victim's viewpoint, a German criminologist, Von Hentig (1948), focussed the world's attention on the role of victims in crime. It was, perhaps, the failure of offender-oriented research which attracted the attention of Von Hentig's work. He elaborated his ideas on the role of victims in his pioneering book *The Criminal and his Victim* (Hentig, 1948). It may be pointed out here that turning attention on the victim for this study was not aimed at finding an explanation for the criminal behaviour, but to see whether they agree with the explanation for such behaviour.

Decades of empirical research have strengthened the victimological concepts and have opened doors for the measurement of crime through victimisation surveys. This study develops a framework to analyse the phenomenon in order to distinguish a further understanding of the causes of TFS from the main key stakeholders which may be a *victim* or even an *offender* of this type of crime, with the aim of identify possible new anti-theft strategies, and for the introduction to this chapter aims to provide an overall sense of the significance of researching crime against businesses, and the importance to explore the business crime phenomenon from the key stakeholders' viewpoint.

> 'While the focus of much research is on offenders [like TFS], it should "not" be forgotten that crimes have victims...' (Hollin, 1989, p. 97)

1.2 Motivation and the Purpose of the Study

1.2.1 The World of Stolen Goods

This study aims to develop an exploratory study of Perceptions, Experiences and Attitudes towards TFS through the eyes of the "victims" and possible "offenders" or as this study recognized for the sake of the study, "key stakeholders". By so doing it seeks to increase the understanding of their attitudes toward TFS and the extent to which they concur with or differ from existing academic research. While attempting to provide a specific understanding from the key stakeholders' perspective for theory, the study also anticipates extending practical anti-theft guidelines for management. As, Cox et al (1993) stated, it is important for managers to know their customers and understand their behaviours, Gill's (2000) study on *Commercial Robbery* offered insights into offenders' perspectives on security and crime prevention, and state that effective crime prevention is dependent on understanding why people offend in the first place.

The relevant terms and concepts used in this study derive from the literature of store theft behaviour and business research. Throughout this thesis[8] the term TFS "Theft from Stores" will be used for reference, referring to theft from businesses; that is when a person takes an item from a store without paying for it. Terms such as customer theft, store theft and commonly termed "shoplifting" are therefore used interchangeably in this study. This is due to the widely define by different studies of theft behaviour. However, the commonly accepted term of shoplifting was initially developed in the seventeenth century and was seen as a minor theft offence.

Nevertheless, the term has currently be restate and is now distinguished as an indictable offence of theft and termed as a "notifiable" offence by the Home Office which officially defined TFS (Home Office, 2004*a*). While those concepts are discussed in detail in the last chapter, this chapter briefly introduce them here. Beginning by defining, TFS as:

> *The unauthorised taking of property – idea or artefact, across the commercial border. Stores [or corporate victim]) are physically and virtually bounded "containers" for property, where property can move legally across the borders according to formal permissions - license to use, cash purchase etc.*

Nevertheless, the predator is a person (called "taker") who moves the goods across the legally defined borders without the permission of the owners. The expression of thieves as "takers" was first mentioned by (Astor, 1969, 1971, p. 50). This study will build on previous research on TFS and attempts to provide a richer understanding of this illicit phenomenon. Parallel with the Guffey et, al (1979) methodological approach, this research will extrapolate on its findings from how laypeople perceive the problem in order to be used to combat the phenomenon which may have a long-range effects..

1.2.2 Background of the Study

This research builds on a developing concern on one of the most common form of business related crimes, Theft against Businesses and taking into account the role of its victims in relation to the crime. Therefore, this study stories two key components to the crime by identifying the perpetrator and the victim. By regarding the crime of theft as a basic criminal and victim type of crime it generally simplifies the complex nature. It is highly likely that most of victims do not become victims solely through the operation of chance alone; they have been selected by criminals as targets, whereas others have been rejected perhaps as being in some sense unsuitable. Current studies need to know much more about the victims' viewpoint, about what they think may cause particular people to become criminals.

Therefore, what victims may identify as a potential cause(s) of crime, may give insights for an opportunity to extend current management by accommodating an additional layer of explanation, since, without a victim a crime cannot occur, and this obvious truth might pinpoint an alternative way of tackling crime.

An easier way to formulate the problem is not to focus solely on attempting to suppress criminal activity *per se*, but instead to consider focusing on victim prevention, which would logically achieve the same objective and do this more easily since the behaviour of potential victims is more easily guided that is the propensity to commit the crime. Still, those potential victims may also be the prospective criminals too, and by taking to include their explanation on what may cause the offenders behaviour might also provide a clue as to how they themselves might behave. Theft in general, and the reasons why people steal, is a fascinating area to consider. The criminal was considered the best source of information in the quest to identify the *true* cause of crime in many studies. Usually attempts to untangle it analytically have revolved around the examination of thieves alone, mostly by academic researchers giving their particular explanations across their disciplines as to what should or might be the cause of theft related crimes and classifying them as offenders into clusters.

With TFS, taken as a sub-type of theft generally, there is every reason to suppose that there are thousands of "causes of theft", starting from a popular concept of the menopausal, middle-class housewife caught by the store detective, an orphan stealing a loaf of bread, to the pathological or clinical syndromes. People can do this thing for every many different reasons, the same way that they can ride a bicycle for many reasons. It is debateable how much further knowledge of this likely to be advanced by attempting to produce a complete list of all the reasons why members of an advanced, consumption-focused, and complex society, with plentifully *goods*, might from time to time steal some of them from other members? This study is arguing that research should turn to other avenues for insights. Even if the list of reasons could be comprehensively produced, we need to know what *victims* perceive to be the cause(s) and if those attributions are compatible with those countless different reasons.

Therefore, earlier studies (as illustrated in Chapters Two Three) have sought to identify potential cause(s) of this prevalent form of crime. Such studies have looked largely separately at the criminals (those carrying out the crime), or the financial and social impact on businesses and society at large. However, very little is known in general about the victims' and the general public's viewpoint (Flanagan, 1987) about causal attribution.

This research will take a more holistic approach to the crime of theft by looking in particular at the complex interrelationships between the rationale of carrying out the crime and those who face the economic and social consequences of the crime. This will include the everyday victims opinion on such a comprehensive list on antecedent causes, to identify what they attribute to be the cause, and to set those in the context of academic research. Although TFS has received considerable attention, both conceptual and empirical, in the relevant literature to-date, however, relatively little is known as to the nature of broader perceptions of the act of TFS, particularly about the reactions of everyday individuals to academic accounts of its causes. This research will cover lay attitudes toward TFS from different groups of key stakeholders' perceptions, the propensity of an individual to commit the crime, and the perceptions of these groups of what causes this type behaviour. Whilst recognising the value of earlier research this study suggests that this phenomenon requires a different level of analysis if its causes are to be better understood. This study argues that a more grounded knowledge of the populations' lay attitudes toward the causes of TFS may shed light on the *actual* precursors of such criminality, complimenting formal knowledge of this intriguing illicit phenomenon. However, the aim is to explore what do actual consumers, retailers and law enforcers actually attribute to be the causes and to what extent are these attributes compatible with academic explanations.

Thus, this research turns its attention on how greatly various causes identified by scholars and practitioners are appreciated by the victims from that criminal incident. It's important to state that for the sake of this study, the generic term of victims is perceived as a *group* of semi homogeneous individuals in a particular *context*. This group is defined as the key stakeholders of the crime, by which involves the general public as actual consumer victims, the business sector as corporate victims and the law enforcement system as social victims, for this research. Therefore, this study takes an altered approach from earlier studies by supporting the study on the known causes of crime, and presenting them to a representative sample of community to give their experience of theft, by providing important information from the victims' viewpoint of this particular criminal offence: this method is also known as a victimisation survey. What this exploratory research aims to explore is the public perceptions and attitudes towards the causes of TFS. It does this by taking a retrospective approach driven by existing research from several social science disciplines to produce a comprehensive review, which in turn feed into the process of this empirical investigation. This study outlines an agenda based on its results for future research and to promote activities designed to further a better understanding of this universal phenomenon that transcends social and cultural boundaries, and has been witnessed in all historical periods.

It may be seen that the introduction has discussed the nature of business crime, and its effects upon not only the business owner and sector, but also the follow-on effects to society in general. It has also specified those crimes and businesses more affected.

1.2.3 Objectives of the Study

At the turn of the 21st century TFS has received considerable attention by the research community (Alder, 2002; Bamfield, 2004; Berlin, 2003; Biever Celeste, 2004; Bristow *et al.*, 2002; Caputo, 2004; Chemerinsky, 2004; Cromwell & Thurman, 2003; Cupchik, 2002; Davies & Willans, 2003; Day *et al.*, 2000; Elliott & Leonard, 2004; Elquist, 2000; Fullerton & Punj, 2004*a;* Fullerton & Punj, 2004*b;* Gabbidon & Patrick, 2005; Gilligan, 2002; Goldner *et al.*, 2000; Guéguen, 2003; Hart, 2003; Hisey, 2003; Kelley *et al.*, 2003; Lamontagne *et al.*, 2000; Lawrence, 2004*a;* Lawrence, 2004*b;* Martens, 2002; Oliphant & Oliphant, 2001; Rittenhouse, 2003; Schneider, 2005*a;* Schneider, 2003; Segrave, 2001; Sennewald, 2000; Simpson, 2000; Sommerville, 2003; Svensson, 2002; Tonglet, 2001; Weisz *et al.*, 2002; Wong, 2005).

The first comprehensive study concerning TFS is considered by Cameron (1964) with *Booster and the Snitch: Department Store Shoplifting*, by which became a benchmark study serving as both stimulus and point of comparison for subsequent research (Krasnovsky & Lane, 1998). Since then, studies concerning TFS in particular have been published in academic journals. The most important of these are the International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology, and the International Journal of International Journal of Retail and Distribution Management. This study illustrates that TFS literature is a huge area comprising many different research orientations, and often debated theories across the different disciplines (cited in, Chapter Two).

The review of the literature will cover the basic terminology and methodological framework used in this study. The literature comes from a number of different theories with respect to store theft literature, as well as various official government informational sources and also from business and public institutions. Work has primarily focused on examining the characteristics and motivations of TFS, with the aim of developing meaningful classifications of what causes people to steal. Nonetheless, some earlier studies have shed some light on attitudes toward this phenomenon, but not into lay attitudes toward the causes of TFS from the main victims affected by the phenomenon, nor the perceptions and reactions of those broader "groups". Some studies have examined the effect of interventions used with different victims.

In order to build an actionable approach to TFS, the primary objectives of the research were to establish the following research proposition. Thus, it is anticipated to contribute in the field of TFS knowledge, as

1. *A grounded understanding of attitudes toward TFS of key stakeholders (consumers/shoppers, retailers, law enforcers) and the extent to which they concur with, or differ from, academic account of TFS as a result of everyday experience in this phenomenon.*

This study is concerned with a grounded explanation of the causes of TFS within its exploratory empirical framework, not only as a tool to increase science or to build academic knowledge, but also as an apparatus that could be used primarily as a tool to improve management systems. Therefore, aim for

2. *An insight into the ways in which stakeholders accounts of the causes of TFS cluster into particular types of explanation, together with the rationale behind these types of explanations.*

This study attempts to combine its findings into practice, to improve current management practices by presenting its framework behind it, to add to the relatively limited research into managing the successful prevention of TFS in commercial establishments Existing research takes mostly a "how-to" prevent approach, overemphasizing legal rights in general for both businesses and offenders (see Farrell and Ferrara 1985; Poyner and Woodall 1987; Hayes 1991; Horan 1997; Budden 1999; Sennewald 2000), or analysing prevention problems which are unique to businesses (Brough & Brown, 1989; Kimiecik, 1995; McDowell, 2000; Segrave, 2001).

However, academics have noted the need for successful TFS prevention strategies within organisational management (Dotson and Patton 1992). While, there is a growing and increasing interest in the current role of organisational management, it led this study's concentration to provide

3. *An opportunity to extend current management of anti-TFS strategies via accommodation of the additional layers of explanation identified in this study, in the organisational frameworks and for informing policy development.*

Overall, it is anticipated that this study will have three specific *contributions* to make to knowledge, since it corresponds to the need found for a grounded knowledge with respect to this phenomenon for both academic and practices.

1.3 Structure of the Thesis

1.3.1 Overview of the Study

The literature review consists of two parts. The first part discusses the TFS literature in the context of explanations offered by previous studies. The second part consists of attitudinal and attributional theories. Theoretically, as well as empirically this study is linked to the previous literature in this area. The study is divided into five chapters, of which the first three present the background to this thesis aims, and strategies of the study's investigation, and the final two presents the analysis, an evaluation of the results and final discussion.

Figure 1.3-1, displays graphically the structure of the study. In quantitative terms, the opening section that introduced the problem constitutes approximately 15% of the study. The literature review section build up the other 45%, and the final one formed the last 40%. The study is organized in detail as follows.

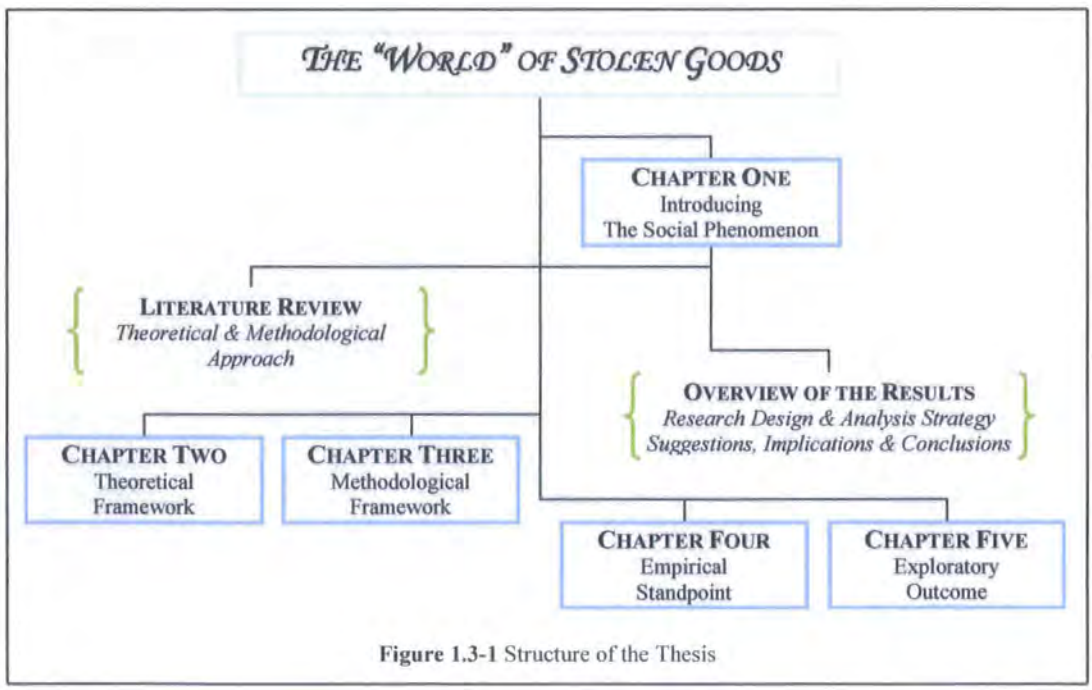

Figure 1.3-1 Structure of the Thesis

Chapter One, the introduction, acquaints the reader with the study's objectives by leading into the topic with a discussion about the economic disadvantages affected by crime in the world of business, with special focus on the survival of business. Furthermore highlights the importance of a particular offence more commonly committed than any other type of business related crime by a large segment of the population – "Theft from Stores". This chapter ends up with a discussion of the importance theft related crimes recognized by previous studies.

The literature review consists of two chapters, which lead to the first part of the literature. The first chapter (Chapter Two) discusses TFS in the context of what different theories from different disciplines particular explain to be the cause(s) of TFS. This chapter outlines the theoretical basis of the research by the extensive literature review. It also consists of consumer misbehaviour or unethical consumer behaviour theories, and their implications for potential management. The second part of the literature review is the methodological review which is given in Chapter Three where a framework is formed to provide insights into how people perceive what represents the meaning of what other people do, reflecting specifically on those illegitimate situation within which such an unethical situation may be engaged in.

In order to help in understanding people's perceptions toward the potential cause(s) of TFS the components, functions and measurements of attitude are discussed in detail. Therefore, Chapter three details such decision process into the theory of attribution, a philosophy by which this exploratory research was framed in. In addition, Chapter Three details the complex relationships between people's attitudes toward their causal explanation and scientific statements, in order to critical reveal latter how those responses correspond and distinct with particular explanations provided to them. Additionally, it explains the development of "our" attitudes towards the causes of TFS, by exploring the perceptions and experiences found among individuals, business managements and law enforcements. Therefore, Chapters Two and Three introduce the development of a methodological foundation from which theoretical assumptions drawn from existing academic research.

Once the theoretical foundation had been formulated it was used to explain the factual findings, this exploratory research was developed to empirically investigate this study's research questions. Chapter Four starts by discussing a general description of this exploratory study and sets up the research questions. The reliability and validity of the study and the sampling methods used will be discussed. A research strategy was chosen as a function of the research situation under investigation, comprising an investigation that measures attitudes toward the proposed causes of TFS from three different groups of the population: the general public, business managements, and law enforcement officers.

The attitude measurement is based on the classical attributional theory where a person's attitude toward the potential cause(s) is viewed as a function of their thoughts and opinion about the reason. In other words, this study measured people's lay perceptions of various statements representing a cause of why a person may take an item from a store without paying for it. Vitally, this study aims to establish if the explanations of such a cause of TFS put forward by academic working in different disciplines were widely accepted by the study's sample population.

However, to achieve the survey's aims, respondents were asked to rate their level of agreement with the given explanation to the potential cause, in relation to each of the statements. Their attitudes were measured on a five-point scale Likert type format. Higher scores on each of these scale-items indicate a more sympathetic attitude towards TFS for such an important cause. Since, in the first part of the study it was statistically identified that some groups differ to varying extents in terms of how much they accept the explanations projected to them.

Discussions are then provided about how the study tried to identify whether the types of explanation put forward by different theories fall into any specific categories, which categories of explanation have the highest and lowest level of agreement, and what the nature of these categories of explanation might be. It provides an insight into the factors underlying attitude formation toward what could cause thievery. Specifically, this study attempted to determine those factors that on the one hand constitute and on the other hand might influence attitudes toward the causes of TFS. Chapter Four also focuses on data analysis. The reliability and validity of the study and the sampling methods used will be discussed. Thus, an overview of the results of the survey will be presented. In this connection, demographics as a factor affecting perception will be discussed.

Following and last chapter of the thesis, a critical review of the findings obtained will be address. Chapter Five will discuss research insights to the study, the research proposition outlined in Chapter One with respect to the finding and additional contract by the exploratory framework development process undertaken. The chapter draws on those finding to create a *framework* of TFS for further research. Overall, it presents the results of this quantitative study in an effort to give additional and supportive information to the research questions to assist its model. Finally, the remainder of the thesis will be devoted to drawing conclusions from findings of the initial literature reviews and evidence gathered from this empirical study.

Chapters Three, Four and Five address the potential use of attribution style research, through linking the work of the previous chapters explicitly to research in the field. Within these chapters, specific predictions are addressed for this empirical study by which the three research questions were formulated on the basis of the body of relevant theft from store (TFS) literature. Particularly, Chapter Five presents the overall findings of the quantitative data in an effort to give additional and supportive information to the propositions of this study outlined in Chapter Four. Finally, Chapter Five details the limitations of the study and stresses its theoretical and practical contributions within the field.

1.3.2 Main Principle of the Study

Since, the primary purpose of this research in general was to explore key stakeholders' attitudes towards the proposed causes of TFS in some detail (the sample used is further representative than those used in other studies – refer to Table 2.1-2 in Chapter Two) and identify the importance of each stakeholder group in order to build an actionable approach to TFS.

Therefore, this research was undertaken with the following objectives:

- To provide an additional dimension to TFS research, in that it attempts to understand the *key stakeholders* explanation the reflect their attitudes toward the potential causes of TFS, compared by those intellectual explanations; thus expand victimisation assessments focused by Von Hentig (1948) and extend work of Leaver (1993).
- To explore the utility of the theory of attribution styles, designed to identify the factors that may influence the development of attitudes toward the causes of TFS, by attempts to extend the insights of Cullen's et al. (1985) and Flanagan's (1987), for a promising exploratory framework.
- To apply a theoretical approach to anti-theft strategies by providing an underlying structure that reflects towards the propensity various individuals to commit TFS, in that it can be adapted by businesses and government bodies to deal more effectively with this type of management problems; thus extend the recommendations of Guffey et al. (1979), Lin et al. (1994) and Cox et al. (1993) in several ways.

It is important to state that most previous research on TFS has placed emphasis on theoretical aspects and neglected the practical implications for retailers. As shown in Chapter Five, this study aims to identify some insightful implications for organisational management, especially to retail controllers and marketing practises as well as legislation and consumer protection groups.

1.4 Applications of the Study

1.4.1 Perceptions and Reactions to the Behaviour of Theft

From a theoretical perspective, the study aims to provide new information about TFS. Public's perceptions and reactions toward the causes of stealing, in particular TFS, is a significant area where this study aims to contribute. Understanding the main driver of human behaviour in the context of theft will provide a relatively important theoretical background for future research in the private and public sectors. Thus, this study attempt to develop an exploratory framework based on previous theories related to the study's research area.

With such elevating social problem and economic significance, the need to design effective ways to tackle and control the problem is highlighted throughout this chapter. Responding to earlier studies on this distressing and growing problem with respect in how to more effectively address that problem, this study recommends better coping strategies that can be used by managers to deal with such a social phenomenon. For instance, the managerial implications will be two-fold: by knowing and understanding their customers better, managers and other management systems will be able to serve them better, and second they may aim to remove the need and opportunity for other customers to steal.

Finally, the results presented in the final chapter (Chapter Five) are expected to provide a basis for future anti-theft strategies. As Taylor (2004) suggests that the businesses must decide which is more important in order to reduce costs; to catch a thief or to develop anti-theft strategies to control this type of behaviour. From this study's point of view, the winners in this field are those with appropriate knowledge of not only the technological achievements and developments but also those with a profound understanding of their customers both the legitimate or illegitimate shopper.

Nevertheless, TFS will probably never be eliminated (Bristow *et al.*, 2002; Cox *et al.*, 1993), so theory and methods should be based on the origins and functions of TFS and its causes, which in turn may lead to effective anti-theft strategies. In order to control or even to prevent any type crime it is important to have a comprehensive understanding of potential causes and/or its antecedents (Anon, 1996). Effective crime prevention is dependent on understanding "why" people are caused to offend (Beck & Willis, 1998; Gill, 2000), and not really "what" caused the event in the first place. While, Cox et al. (1993, p. 244) questions the credibility of earlier approaches, they call for further studies by suggesting that a comprehensive 'understanding of its causes' may be a hidden alternative method to implement alternative strategies to discourage this complex and troubling behaviour. As a final remark this study would like to recapitulate the ideas expressed by Cox et al. (1993), and along with Guffey, et al (1979) suggestions,

> '...in order to design more effective programmes to prevent this behaviour, retailers need a better understanding of it causes.'
>
> (Cox *et al.*, 1993, p. 234)

> '...it appears evident that the methods used to combat shoplifting are strongly associated with consumer attitudes and may have subtle and long-range effect on store patronage. The impact the security procedures have on consumer attitudes will have to be given greater consideration in the future.'
>
> (Guffey *et al.*, 1979, p. 89)

2

Theft Behaviour in a Wider Perspective: A Review and Critique

2.1 The Problematic Social Phenomenon

'Thou shall not steal – [Exodus 20:15]
At some point in everyone's life they are confronted with the Eighth commandment.' (Beck, 2000)

'There is not "one cause" of crime, nor just one solution for it.'
(Rowe, 2002, p. 7)

The second chapter of this study examines the theoretical framework of this research, and is structured along several themes. First, it discusses the research in consumer ethics and stresses its importance for unethical consumption in both academic and commercial contexts. Second, it highlights the social and economic impacts from different perspectives on theft from stores (TFS). Third, by conceptualising and reviewing the theoretical frameworks, we start to explore explanations as to causes of TFS. A particular emphasis is placed on retrospective research across the social sciences. Finally, Chapter Two grounds it argument on particular TFS studies that examined perceptions and reactions.

2.1.1 Unethical Consumption

Ever since Engel and his colleges (1995) claimed that people face very similar challenges in the everyday world of consuming, consumption has been a fascinating subject for scholars who were interested in how consumers cope with everyday shopping activities (Engel *et al.*, 1995). Actually, Miller (2001) claims that going shopping is generally considered to be one of the most enjoyable experiences in life, but in reality consuming as revealed in Chapter One can be problematical (Miller, 2001). Researchers have tried to develop a multifaceted view of the consumer (Cox *et al.*, 1990), as questions arise of what happens when the shoppers behave unethically.

Advocators of a broadened view of consumption have argued in recent years that the exploration of consumer ethics is extremely complex, but is important to both business and academic practices (Babin *et al.*, 1994a; Fullerton & Punj, 2004*a;* Mitchell & Ka Lun Chan, 2002). There may be complexity where the consumer experience includes *all* of the activities involved with (un)ethical consumption (Fullerton & Punj, 2004*a*), or in the context of how *global* a businesses' strategy should be (Mitchell & Ka Lun Chan, 2002). Consumption ethics were strongly considered by Chan and colleagues, who concluded that 'the understanding of consumer ethics is crucial to marketers and policy makers' (Chan *et al.*, 1998, p. 1163), and many scholars have in examined the importance of consumer research in ethics (De Wulf *et al.*, 2003; Dodge *et al.*, 1996; Fullerton & Punj, 2004*a;* Miller, 2001; Mitchell & Ka Lun Chan, 2002; Muncy & Vitell, 1992), and some studies focused on examining the relationship between marketing and consumer ethics (see Callen & Ownbey, 2003; De Wulf *et al.*, 2003; Fullerton & Punj, 2004*a;* see Mitchell & Ka Lun Chan, 2002), in order to recommend actions that may stimulate consumer ethical behaviour research.

Dodge et al (1996) define consumer ethics as the 'rightness as opposed to the wrongness of certain actions on the part of the buyer or potential buyer in consumer situation' (Dodge *et al.*, 1996), while Muncy and Vitell (1992) define consumer ethics as the moral rules, principles and standards that guide the behaviour of an individual (or group) in the selection, purchase, use, or selling of a good or service (Muncy & Vitell, 1992). Muncy and Vitell (1992) developed an ethics scale, consisting of questions about consumption practices that have ethical implications. The first ethical category was actively benefiting from an illicit activity, this means the comprising actions that are initiated by the individual, and that are almost universally perceived as illegal, for example taking an item from as store without paying for it. The second category is passively benefiting at the expense of others, that is consumers take advantage of a seller's mistake, for example getting too much change and not saying anything.

The third category is actively benefiting from a questionable action or behaviour that the consumer is involved in although it may not necessarily be perceived as illegal, for example accidentally damaging something. In the last category, consumers perceive their actions as doing little or no harm, for example trying on clothes for two hours and not buying any. Such a consumer ethics scale has proved to be reliable and valid in several studies (Muncy & Vitell, 1992; Rallapalli *et al.*, 1994; Rawwas, 1996; Strutton *et al.*, 1994; Vitell *et al.*, 1991; Vitell & Muncy, 1992), and was carried out in different countries (see Mitchell & Ka Lun Chan, 2002; Van Kenhove *et al.*, 2001).

Frequently the scholarly emphasis has been almost exclusively upon the ethics of the marketer and business (Callen & Ownbey, 2003; Mitchell & Ka Lun Chan, 2002). According to Callen and Ownbey, consumers are portrayed as being taken advantage of by marketers and/or businesses, rather than consumers exhibiting unethical behaviour (Callen & Ownbey, 2003). Usually the research focus has been business oriented and examined the influence of manager's moral value sets, professional environment, industrial environment and managerial environment on ethical decision making and consequent behaviour (Mitchell & Ka Lun Chan, 2002, p. 7).

Consumers can be described as being taken advantage of. For example unethical business (retailing) behaviour practices may cover issues such as adopting an 'unethical' product range, conducting offensive advertising, setting up 'pirate' branding initiatives or adopting unethical trading practices in the selling situation (McIntyre *et al.*, 1999; Smith & Fitchett, 2002; Whysall, 1998, 2000). This is identified as crimes caused *by* businesses (cited it Chapter One), however, as cited and stressed in the earlier chapter, consumers are not only 'victimised', but also are the 'victimiser', causing tremendous loss in the retail and business settings (Mitchell & Ka Lun Chan, 2002, p. 6).

According to Fullerton and Punj, consumers have been found to violate the generally accepted norms of conduct in consumption situations, and thus disrupt the consumption order (Fullerton & Punj, 2004*a*). Even thought business ethics generally has received much attention in recent years there has been a notable lack of focus towards understanding the ethics of consumers (Mitchell & Ka Lun Chan, 2002), especially in unethical behaviour of consumers (Babin *et al.*, 1994a; Babin *et al.*, 1994b; Fullerton & Punj, 2004*a*). Usually, the scholarly emphasis has been almost exclusively upon the ethical (or legitimate) acts of consumption (Fullerton & Punj, 2004*a*). However, ever since Smith in 1983 defined consumer deception (Smith, 1983), little academic interest was generated until the beginning of the 21st century. Even so, the problem was clearly an issue of consumer behaviour, or perhaps more appropriately termed *consumer misbehaviour* (Albers-Miller, 1999).

Consumer misbehaviour was derived from the assumption of such unethical behaviour which represented the 'dark' and 'negative side' of a customer (Fullerton & Punj, 1997*c;* Fullerton & Punj, 2004*a;* Hirschman, 1991). Its sought to be a important social phenomenon, which is not only potentially harmful to businesses and the economy as a whole (references are cited in Chapter One), but it also affects the experience of *all* customers (Fullerton & Punj, 2004*a;* Tonglet, 2001). Despite the obvious implications, its been known that the ethics of consumer misbehaviour in general is a neglected topic (Albers-Miller, 1999; Babin *et al.*, 1994b; Fullerton & Punj, 1997*c;* Fullerton & Punj, 2004*a;* McCracken, 1988; Mitchell & Ka Lun Chan, 2002).

Fullerton and Punj (2004) concluded that:

> '...consumer misbehaviour is a pervasive and integral element of consumption experience within the ideology of consumption. It has developed as an intrinsic element of modern consumption behaviour, and is sustained by the same marketing factors, which define the consumption culture's essential nature.' (p. 1248).

Many variants of consumer misbehaviour surrounds the consumption experience (see Fullerton & Punj, 2004*a;* Mitchell & Ka Lun Chan, 2002), with new manifestations emerging from research into our consumption oriented culture (Fullerton & Punj, 2004*a*). Usually, consumer misbehaviour has been explored by marketing scholars. In 1991, Hirschman called for further research into the 'dark side of consumer behaviour'(Hirschman, 1991, p. 1), and perhaps in response to this call marketing scholars begun to explore in general depth issues of consumer misdeeds. Later on, Budden and Griffin prepared a special issue of *Psychology and Marketing* dedicated to the study of aberrant and dysfunctional consumer (see Budden & Griffin, 1996).

In this research arena, the most commonly studied issues have concentrated on compulsive buying behaviour (see Faber *et al.*, 1995; see O'Guinn & Faber, 1989; Shoham & Makovec Brencic, 2003), addictive consuming behaviour (see Albers-Miller, 1999; Bearden *et al.*, 1994; see Hirschman, 1992; Smith & Fitchett, 2002), and consumer fraud (Cole, 1989; Piron & Young, 2000; Schmidt *et al.*, 1999; Strutton *et al.*, 1994). Additionally, some papers on consumer e-fraud research appeared. The Internet has provided techno-literate consumers with a new medium to exploit business deception (see Freestone & Mitchell, 2004, which addresses Internet related ethics; and Sommerville, 2003). Furthermore, research has also focused on illegal consumer behaviour (Cox *et al.*, 1990), (as it will be comprehensively surveyed in this chapter), and researched the image of such offender (Kallis & Vanier Dinoo, 1985). Illegal consumer behaviour is meant to be to TFS as being either illegally obtained or acquired (stolen).

Drawing on Muncy and Vitell's (1992) first category of consumption practices of consumers actively benefiting from an illicit activity or engage in unethical acquisition, consumers have also been found acting with unethical dispositional goods (Callen & Ownbey, 2003; Strutton *et al.*, 1997). For example, purchasing an item with the intention of returning it for a full refund after use (see for review Piron & Young, 2000; Schmidt *et al.*, 1999). A number of studies that have been investigating consumer ethics, were also found dealing specifically around such unethical acquisition or the purported TFS (see De Wulf *et al.*, 2003; see McGoldrick & Andre, 1997; Tonglet, 2001) and some are specifically limited to the consumer misbehaviour of unethical dispositional goods (see Koster *et al.*, 2002; see Piron & Young, 2000; Schmidt *et al.*, 1999). This may be because consumers that engage in TFS are perceived to be displaying the worst consumer behaviour within consumption practices (Davies & Willans, 2003).

Therefore, as this study explores the unethical acquisition of TFS, it is important in this section to state the numerous ways by which TFS can be conceptualized apart from "taking without paying for it". According, to Sennewald (2000), Nelson and Perrone (2000), the stores can be defrauded by TFS in forms of:

- Secreting and/or hiding unpaid-for goods on one's person, in handbags, babies prams, store bag or other container carried by the offender;
- Openly carrying unpaid-for goods out of the store;
- Wearing unpaid-for goods out of the store;
- Removal of packaging which is then discarded within the store (apart from giving the appearance of being used)
- Switching the price tag and paying a lesser value;
- Exchanging the contents of a package for good of a higher value;
- Selecting an item of merchandise from its display and presenting it for an exchange or cash refund (see Nelson & Perrone, 2000; Sennewald, 2000).

Whatever form TFS takes, the misbehaving consumer often performs such acts in the same space as the honest consumer (Fullerton & Punj, 1997*b;* Fullerton & Punj, 1997*c;* Tonglet, 2001). TFS is no exception as one study has advanced, 'shoplifters and shoppers are involved in conceptually similar decision-making processes' (Nelson *et al.*, 1996, p. 411). In doing so, this study acknowledges the significance of understanding consumer misbehaviour as well as legitimised behaviour in exploring TFS, since such social phenomenon my lie within all of us, 'the consumers' (explained in Chapter One and surveyed in Chapter Four). However, in order to situate TFS properly it is important to set it in historical context. Thus, this chapter now proceeds to review the ways in which TFS developed as a concept, and then examines the various theories explaining why some people commit such crime and others do not.

2.1.2 The World of Stolen Goods

2.1.2.1 The History and Trend

According to Schwartz (2003), our first haven was the *store*, 'a disease of desire and consumption, of impulse and will' (p. 173). Adding that,

> '...the department stores were a feast for the eyes and hands. Most thinks lay open to view and touch. Mirrors and cornucopia holdings on walls and ceilings did not so much deceive the senses as expand the horizons of desire. With the bazaar of riches clearly marked at fixed prices, the shopper was disengaged from the rawness of the open market and the pressures of the attentive small retailer. She was left to flow through aisles toward the finer things in life, or she was lifted from beneath by elevators rising toward the higher goods.' (Schwartz, 2003, p. 173)

Thus, so seductive, the construction of stores became the site for a new class of store theft where the taking, not the owning, seemed paramount (Schwartz, 2003). First described in 1816, it has been a controversial topic (Abelson, 1989*a*), having a dramatic impact on the development of urban retailing. However, its incidences appears to have flourished ever since the 1950s, accompanying to the movement from service to self-service stores necessitated by rapidly rising labor costs (Durston, 1996). In-store theft was the first modern social crime to be studied (Adler, 2002; Fredriksson, 1997; Phillips *et al.*, 2005) due to its socio-economic changes that formed the backdrop for such social crime activities (Bark, 2002), and described by Linebaugh (1991) in his study *The London Hanged* as follows

> 'The industrial revolution and accompanying demographic revolution were the backgrounds to the greatest transformation in history, in revolutionising 'needs' and in destroying the authority of customary expectations. This is what demarks the 'pre-industrial' or the 'traditional' from the modern world.'
>
> (cited in Bark, 2002, p. 3)

So as the economy gradually became more capitalist and technologically advanced there were pressures that built up. There was a demand for the actual and capitalist ownership of possession that was accomplished largely in the last decades of the 18th century. However, it was between the late 18th century and beginning of the 19th that the 'industrial revolution' was said to have begun in Britain and revolutionised people's lives. Arguably this process was, and is, based upon particular social relations of the capitalist mode of production, as well as the progress of economic development (see Bark, 2002, in the context for the role of capitalist and associated economic transformations). Yet either approach sought economic changes in social relations which are masked by such neutral terms as "industrialization". Today, this is lived, negotiated and mediated through the institutions of capitalist society and the fluctuating economic fortunes of the masses, and those that live in it. Without wishing to deny that some people who sense the social and economic changes, the act of theft makes it socially and politically interesting, as will discussed later.

As we shall see later, who can blame so many people for taking things that are put in the open for them to want, feel, wear, taste and enjoy when the stores choose the self-service method of shopping in order to maximise their profits (D'Alto, 1992)? Also for the very poor in today's society to engage in any sort of social lifestyle people sometimes need to steal or fund their purchases through other informal methods. Indeed, the retail site is an ever changing feature of our consumer based society, with its' own personnel and culture, as are the 'shoplifters' (Bark, 2002). Therefore, intentional and planned acts of theft may have increased as would-be 'shoplifters' became more attuned to self-service environment (Phillips *et al.*, 2005, p, 73).

Self-service method was perceived as a product of late nineteenth-century mass merchandising, according a cultural historian says 'consumer culture manipulates the sense of the shoppers, seduces them, weakening their ability to resist temptation' (cited in Adler, 2002, p. 52). Schwartz focused on the late nineteenth-century birth of the department store as an 'enchanted' space of consumption. The first department stores were established, and suddenly such social crime activity was associated with a particular place: 'department store theft' (Fredriksson, 1997, p. 119), as people participating in new forms of consumer culture (Bark, 2002). Therefore, it became the captivating display of seductive goods opened up the possibility for, a disturbing encounter with the world of disorderly things and mixed-up values, and theft (Abelson, 1989*a*). Schwartz study addresses the gendering of such spaces and considers the manner in which they gave rise to a number of 'shopping disorders' (see Abelson, 1989*a*, 1989*b*). Such globalised commercial spaces were, above all, devoted to middle-class women as established by Elaine Abelson (1989). Within the special world of the department store, women found themselves challenged to resist the enticements of consumption (Abelson, 1989*a*).

Abelson suggests that many succumbed, buying both what they needed and what they desired, but also stealing what seemed so readily available. The *world of stolen* clothes, health and beauty products, linens and household goods according to Walker, "was populated by women: women stealing, women receiving, women disposing, women searching, and women passing on information, as well as goods, to other women" (Walker, 1994, p. 97). Indeed, the people in question were women, and it was in department stores that middle-class women suddenly became thieves (Fredriksson, 1997). It was pursued by those middle-class women who generally had the means to buy what they stole led to the female *medicalization* rather than the *criminalization* of their actions (see Abelson, 1989*a*). Abelson argues that in the interest of concealing this darker side of consumerism, women of the middle class, but not those of the working class, were allowed to steal and plead incapacitating illness (kleptomania).

Medicalization was linked to pathological sexual problems, and to menstruation, pregnancy and mental disturbances during menopause (Fredriksson, 1997). 'Kleptomania' was the term aimed in an attempt to explain and understand such pathological actions (discussed later in this chapter) (Goldman, 1991*a*, 1991*b*). It became a woman's illness which was thus able to explain the 'irrational behaviour' shown by kleptomania (Fredriksson, 1997, p. 120). The rational construction of such a 'condition' raised all manner of questions concerning sex and class, which were a widely held social stereotype that had political implications (see Schwartz, 2003). The term was used to resolve contradiction of often wealthy women engaged in what seemed at the time to be a flood of thieving from the new department stores (Benezech, 2000; Sharrock, 2004).

It was impossible for the courts, the families, or the stores to reconcile themselves to the evidence that such women (and such 'good' customers) could be thieves (Benezech, 2000). The female kleptomaniac has always been a subject of great interest, and fascinating history of middle-class Victorian 'female shoplifter' in United States has been written by Elaine S. Abelson in 1989. Her study '*Middle Class Shoplifters in the Victorian Department Stores*' was an illogical and unacceptable threat to prevent moral values. By explaining this behaviour in medical terms one removed the implication of 'moral chaos', as well as providing the boundaries of class and gender (Abelson, 1989*b*); 'The individual became the focus: the crime was lost. Neither the excesses of the institutions nor consumer capitalism were indicted. The fault lay within the women themselves' (Abelson, 1989*a,* p. 12). Abelson also argues that the invention of kleptomania by psychiatrists and the adoption of this ideology of feminine weakness by retailers, newspapers, the general public, the accused women themselves, and even the courts reveals the way in which a gender analysis allowed proponents of consumer capitalism to mask its contradictions (Abelson, 1989*a*).

The concept of kleptomania allowed blame to be attributed to the unconscious and, therefore, the inability of these individuals to control themselves for medical reasons (Benezech, 2000). This still provided for jailing of poor people stealing goods such as bread, which was made to seem rational and culpable by comparison (see Pinch, 1998, for such legal and political pressures). Nevertheless, organized thought on kleptomania has, over nearly two centuries, reflected and changed with dominant approaches to psychiatry in specific and social thought in general (see Fullerton & Punj, 2004*b,* on Kleptomaniac perspectives). But, towards the begining of the twentieth century, there came a new view which also saw kleptomania as a social phenomenon, with an in-built criticism of the department stores for enticing people to steal. 'The milieu of the store exposed its customers to temptation, creating a new acquisitiveness and the desire to own things' (Fredriksson, 1997, p. 120).

Perhaps people are unable to cope with the demands of modernity and the idea of 'possession' and 'uncontrollable' desire of goods reveals a dark side to the temptations of our consumption oriented culture. Such issue that tend to produce such behaviour include temptation, ability to rationalize and perceive risk to act (Cox *et al.*, 1990; Cressey, 1950). Some scholars have the opinion that stores create thieves in the same way they lure the customers, with special displays and advertising techniques to make people desire the items to own it (Farrington *et al.*, 1994; Nelson & Perrone, 2000). Those studies claim that the offence occurs as an impulse and not as part of conscious thinking. Thus, as with any act of behaviour the scope of TFS can be compared with varying degrees of both internal and external stimuli (see Bosquet, 1969).

Furthermore, the extent of the problem and the proportion of shoppers offending have also been investigated at a more detail scale of analysis, as considered next. Published information on TFS stresses that retail businesses, corporate chain stores and other capitalist institutions are experiencing difficult times, not only on its economic impact, but also assessing its commonness and frequency. Thus, the following section deals with evidence which indicates that a significant proportion of customers steal and it nearly impossible to put a figure on the true amount on such troubling and least understood aspect.

2.1.2.2 The Extend and Limits

The British Chambers of Commerce indicate that more that 50 % of all business failures can be attributes to customer theft (BCC, 2004). Even in the 1970's, for instance, TFS costs were cited as a prime cause of more than one-third of all bankruptcies in businesses (Business-Week 1979). The alternative for businesses is to develop technological systems (that is, surveillance devices) to detect customers stealing which then add to the overall costs of doing businesses (Taylor, 2004). Hence, the differential impact of TFS is between large and small businesses and the increasing importance of cost control as price-led strategies become more prevalent (Leaver 1993). Businesses face the prospect of going out of business if they cannot control the cost of lost services, cash and products (BCC, 2004). Since TFS is perceived to be the most serious crime for businesses (Cromwell & Thurman, 2003), its true extent remains unknown (Krasnovsky & Lane, 1998). Chapter one identified that TFS is an expensive problem faced by businesses and thus far its aggregate impact on retail businesses is enormous (Cox *et al.*, 1990). Still, it is not always treated seriously by researchers and government bodies, despite it importance (Crime Concern, 2002). All of this is remindful of Bamfield's (2004, 2005) study (mentioned in Chapter One) which revealed that the true cost of business crime runs into billions of pounds and that it affects not just businesses, but makes society as a whole poorer.

As note in Chapter One, the twelfth BRC survey estimated that the total cost of TFS burden on the British public was £588 million in 2004, a 44% increase from 2003. Thus, the collusion by customers stealing was found to be equivalent to the largest proportion of retail profit, offering an even bigger problem towards the public as a whole (BRC, 2005). More than half of business losses are inevitably passed back to honest shoppers in the form of higher prices. In addition, the public also pays a further sum for the cost of the criminal justice system which includes police resources and court time dealing with thieves (Bamfield, 2004, 2005). According to Bamfield's study, the amount stolen each year by customer thieves equates to the cost of six fully-equipped hospitals (Bamfield, 2004).

Recent research by the Centre for Retail Research (2005) based solely on national figures from the Home Office, Office of National Statistics, Scottish Office, and the British Retail Consortium show that the costs suffered by society as a result of business crime are as large as the crime losses to retailers. While, customer thieves cost the industry £589 million, the annual burden represents an average of £115.91 for every British taxpayer - or £58.14 per head of the population each year (BRC, 2005). Therefore, as the extent of the problem is estimated and publicised quarterly or annually, the questions here is whether those facts and figures are the "true" amount lost direct or indirect to TFS. But, before considering such estimations this chapter will next discuss that the proportion of shoppers offending has also been investigated by studies at a more detail scale of analysis.

The first surveys were conducted by Astor in 1969 and 1971(Astor, 1969, 1971). Astor (1969) surveyed four large department sores in America cities found that, in general, TFS losses accounted for 10-15% of sales. The methodology adopted involved following shoppers in each of the four stores. Of a total 1197 shoppers, 109 thieves were detected. Of the 109 thieves, only one was apprehended by the store security staff. This suggests the large number of TFS offences which remain undetected. Based on his research, Astor estimated that between 1 in 7 and 1 in 15 people were likely to remove items from a store without paying for it (Astor, 1969, p. 1971). Ray (1987) estimated that 1 in every 12 shoppers shoplifted (see Ray, 1987). Following Astor's and Ray's study, other research has suggested rates between 2% and 8% for America (Carroll & Weaver, 1986; Kallis & Vanier Dinoo, 1985), Canada (Turner & Cashdan, 1988), Germany (May, 1966), Brussels (Sohier, 1969), and in England (Gibbens, 1962, 1981). Estimates of annual loss from TFS have ranged in the £billions (Bamfield, 2005; BRC, 2005). Klemke (1992) notes that in the previous 20 years there had been a 300% increase in reported incidents of TFS. Furthermore, only a small percentage of TFS offenders are caught; for example, An American study maintained that 40% of people had stolen from a store at some time in their lives (Kallis & Vanier Dinoo, 1985). Other research has shown that 1 in every 10 to 15 has stolen at one time or another (Lo, 1994; Turner & Cashdan, 1988). Even today, websites claim that,

> 'There are approximately 23 million shoplifters (or 1 in 11 people) in our nation today. More than 10 million people have been caught shoplifting in the last five years.'
>
> (Alternative, 2005)

Consequently, recent research shows that only a small portion of the real value of losses is based on customers stealing, because in 97% of instances customers who steal are not caught (see Cromwell *et al.*, 1999; Lin *et al.*, 1994).

Global estimates note that the proportion of shoppers offending is a big problem. It has been established that as many as 60% of consumers have stolen at some point in their lives (Klemke, 1982; Klemke, 1992; Krasnovsky & Lane, 1998; Kraut, 1976). It is important to stress,

> '...the fact that most ordinary people have shoplifted at least once by the time they reach adulthood, a statement that could hardly be made about any other indictable offence.'
>
> (Campbell, 1981, p. 99)

All of this is strongly reminiscent of the saying 'there is a little larceny in everyone' (Meyers, 1970, p. 296). Furthermore, business security experts have also ventured an estimate that 'for each person caught (detained and/or arrested) in the act, as many as 35 acts of TFS go undetected' (Sennewald, 2000, p. 3). The Chief Executive of 'Somerfield' who should know more than most about both the extent and types of shoplifting and shoplifters said

> 'Shoplifting is a multi-million pound industry. Those who do it look – on the whole – just like you and me. They aren't all drug crazed youths (though there are plenty of those). For retailers, the problem has become an enormous burdon... shoplifting is a problem [for the retailers] that just won't go away.'
>
> (cited in Bark, 2002)

The recorded crime statistics relate to offenders apprehended and processed through the system. Based on self-report surveys and following studies it seems that only a small proportion of store theft is detected (Nelson & Perrone, 2000). Although methods of data collection, such as surveys of businesses, store apprehension data, observational studies and self-report surveys, can usefully add to the picture drawn by official statistics, each method contains its own biases (mentioned further). For example, self-report surveys usually target young people, and little consistency was found in the results. These surveys suggested that somewhere between one in 40 and one in 250 incidents resulted in a conviction (Farrington 1999).

Farrington (1999) highlights the inadequacies of the available statistics by pointing out that according to police data there were about 111,000 recorded incidents of store theft each year in the United Kingdom but using all available data this figure could be as high as 17 million. It is therefore risky to draw conclusions based on such data. For example, an apparent downward trend may simply reflect an increasing reluctance on the part of the business community to report detected offenders or may reflect an increasing tendency by some districts to divert offenders away from prosecution towards unrecorded cautions. In 1986, for example, the Crown Prosecution Service issued guidelines to British police discouraging them from formally proceeding against very young and very old offenders, particularly in instances where the value of the items stolen was quite small (Farrington 1999).

Therefore, the main problem it that only a small percentage of offenders are caught and calculated, and they are probably not representative of the offenders as a whole. For example, store biases in surveillance and apprehension may result in an underreporting of juvenile and affluent offenders (Cameron, 1964; Hardt & Hardt, 1977; Klemke, 1982; Robin, 1963). In addition, this may raise questions of apprehended offenders, and also of apprehension techniques. Nevertheless, the incidence of TFS is so widespread that one must give serious consideration to the possibility that it is a product of characteristics that are allied to, or are part of, the basic essence of human nature. As Meyer initially suspected that probably it is a sign of a social disorder for it is not limited to national boundaries (Meyers, 1970). As cited in Chapter One, recent figures available for the extent of the problem (Bamfield, 2005; BRC, 2005) are matched by those published elsewhere. For example, even if the above the specific statistics relate directly to United Kingdom or other European countries, it is not exclusively their problem, nor is it a product of only their modern consumer oriented culture. Therefore, it is also of significant concern in other countries (Nelson & Perrone, 2000).

Similar rate are cited across European countries (Bamfield, 2004; Frate, 2004), Scandinavian countries (Gudjonsson, 1982; Hansen & Breivik, 2001), America (Carroll & Weaver, 1986; Guffey *et al.*, 1979; Hayes, 1996), Canada (Lo, 1994), Asian countries (Wong, 2005; Yan Yee, 2004), Australia, and New Zealand (Charlton & Taylor, 2003; Nelson & Perrone, 2000; Perrone, 2000). Thus, this is a situation not limited by national boundaries or culture, but rather seems to be related to human beings 'per se'. Therefore, to put a figure on the true amount of TFS is nearly impossible. Studies do claim that most customer theft related crimes is established by audit rather than witnessed, and demonstrated rather than comprehended (see Krasnovsky & Lane, 1998). According to Krasnovsky and Lane's review, only a minority of this type of crime is detected and witnessed at the time, latter or possible never (Beck & Willis, 1998). Even with systematic observation it is still very difficult to determine the true nature and extent of the crime (see Farrington, 1999, for existing studies of TFS having major limitations).

As noticed earlier a major problem in studying TFS is to measure accurately its extent. Information about TFS can be obtained from surveys of businesses (for example, see BRC, 2005; Charlton & Taylor, 2003; CRR, 2005; Taylor, 2004; Taylor & Mayhew, 2002), from police records (for example, see Adderley & Musgrove, 2001; Burrows *et al.*, 1999; Burrows & Ingram, 1999; Burrows & Speed, 1994; Carcach & Makkai, 2002; Casey & Shuman, 1979; Leaver, 1993; Loitz & Loitz, 1984; Nelson *et al.*, 1996), from self-reported offending surveys (for example, see Day *et al.*, 2000; Osgood *et al.*, 1989), or from store detectives records (for example, see Ekblom, 1986; Sennewald, 2000).

Other things that lead to the underexposure of TFS are the fact that companies historically have not liked to alienate the public or their own employees with excessive security. Also Klemke (1992) has noted the tendency for academic disciplinary specialists (criminologists) to look at general trends in society as a whole instead of looking at particular crimes. Thus,

> 'Delinquency researchers, in particular, have established that most delinquents are involved in a wide variety of delinquent acts and rarely specialise in one type of delinquency. This tends to discourage researchers from focusing on a single type of deviance. As a result, unique insights that apply to particular types of deviance are overlooked.'
>
> (Klemke, 1992)

Moreover, a seeming surge in official rates may be accounted for by a rise of support for official reporting or for a change in police policy which supports the formal processing of referred offenders (Nelson & Perrone, 2000). Nevertheless, it was found that less than one half of apprehended store thieves were referred to police (CRR, 2004) despite many stores displaying signs warning that store thieves will be prosecuted (Burrows & Ingram, 1999; Burrows & Speed, 1994). Generally, businesses are more interested in recovering the stolen property and avoiding adverse publicity (Klemke, 1992).

However, we should also be aware of contradictory evidence. In TFS research this manifests itself in the long term self report studies that

> '...challenge the view that shoplifting has been increasing dramatically. In fact, the Monitoring the Future data show that there has been virtually no change in shoplifting activity between 1977 and 1988... The pattern for 1977 (30.2% reported shoplifting during the last year) is nearly identical to that reported for 1988 (30.4%). At no time between 1977 and 1988 was there more than a four-point fluctuation in the percentage reporting recent shoplifting activity.'
>
> (Klemke, 1992)

This data suggests that with the increase in security and security technology more store offender have been apprehended and reporting practices may have changed also. In Britain self-report data from interviews with youths point towards the 'mass shoplifter'. One extensive survey, commissioned by the Government's Youth Justice Board spoke to 5,263 children aged 11 to 16, found that

> 'Theft was also on the increase, with 35% admitting to shoplifting, compared with 31% the year before. The number of children stealing from school rose from 15% to 23%. The survey reported that 49% of children had dodged fares, compared with 44% last year.'
>
> (cited in Bark, 2002, p. 18)

An additional study commissioned by UK Home Office found that awareness of most committed offences, such as vandalism or shoplifting are increasing within offenders. The research found that one in four young adults admitted breaking the law in the previous year (Nigel, 2005). Therefore, based on the above information, to formulate any general conclusion in the light of the available data would be hazardous. Certainly, surveys and various official statistics must underestimate the 'true extent' of TFS. However, considering the puzzlement and dispute of accurate figures, the global extent, and the large amount lost through this type of crime, it would be anticipated to find a extensive research on the issue. However, a decline in research activity has been observed by this study, which will be considered in the final chapter.

2.1.3 Who Steals from Stores? The Descriptive Question

While some researchers and stakeholders argue that there is an average offender profile (Harbin, 1977), others claim that *all* past attempts to understand who commits the offence of TFS differs widely (Krasnovsky & Lane, 1998) maybe because today's consumer-obsessed culture is so different (Sharrock, 2004). Supported by research later in this section, offenders' diversity may be, because of its frequency, committed by a large segment of the population. Identifying who commits the offence is probably the most problematic aspect of TFS, because it has been considered in the past that they do not match to people's typical notions of what criminals are supposed to be like (see Turner & Cashdan, 1988). Unlike many other types of crime, people who steal from stores do not ordinarily require any special expertise or tools to engage in this crime (see Cromwell & Thurman, 2003), that is, their crimes are not made up by complex motives like other types of crime (Kraut, 1976). Clearly, anyone may be a shop thief (Outcalt, 1990). Recent studies argue that such behaviour shares certain similarities with 'normal' consumer behaviour (Callen & Ownbey, 2003; Fullerton & Punj, 1997*c;* Tonglet, 2001). And unlike so many other crimes, TFS is highly accessible to most people (Sharrock, 2004).

Considering the offender as an ordinary consumer, rather than a distinct criminal type, is supported by other exploratory research (Cameron, 1964; Cohen & Stark, 1974; Cromwell *et al.*, 1999; Fullerton & Punj, 1997*c;* Klemke, 1982; Klemke, 1992; Lin *et al.*, 1994; Outcalt, 1990; Tonglet, 2001). For example, studies of apprehended shoplifters (Cameron, 1964; Cohen & Stark, 1974; Schwartz & Wood, 1991) indicate that the majority do not have a record of prior criminal record. Arboleda-Florez *et al.* (1977) claimed that such dilemma may stem from the paradox involved in the very 'ordinariness' of the offence (p. 202). Klemke (1982) also found that it is the more commonly committed than other types of crime by a large segment of population.

Sohier (1969) on the other hand first described it as an 'ordinary crime' and since this study analyse TFS in the current epoch and dispel many illusions by talking about

> '...the ordinariness of shoplifting – [that] has not been explored as it should... shoplifting – this banal phenomenon – is found in a large proportion of the population and the offenders are mostly quite ordinary people.' (Sohier, 1969, p. 162-168)

Consequently, those people who steal from stores do not necessarily conform to most people's perception (either in their eyes or in the eyes of society) of what such criminal offender is like. Instead, such offenders tend to be geo-demographically and socio-demographically similar to the 'average person' (Cromwell & Thurman, 2003, p. 539). Since the offense is committed by all types of people this research notes that the fundamental concern of TFS commonness has in fact not been studied in depth.

The basic fact is that large numbers of people from various backgrounds are stealing from stores. Research also supports such account that a large number of people from different backgrounds are involved in TFS (Arboleda-Florez *et al.*, 1977; Klemke, 1982; Krasnovsky & Lane, 1998; Kraut, 1976; Lin *et al.*, 1994; Outcalt, 1990; Sohier, 1969), and if given an opportunity or an excuse people from nearly any customer group will steal (Lewison & DeLozier, 1982; Lin *et al.*, 1994) and never be detected. In a classic study, Cameron (1964) wrote:

> 'Most people have been tempted to steal from stores, and many have been guilty [at least as children] of "snitching" an item or two from counter tops. With merchandise so attractively displayed in department stores and supermarkets, and much of it apparently there for taking, one may ask *why everyone isn't a thief*'.
>
> (Cameron, 1964, p. xi)

Because shoplifters are atypical criminals, they are more difficult to catch. It is difficult for retailers to distinguish between 'shoppers' and 'shoplifters' just by appearances because the two groups usually come from similar backgrounds (see Fullerton & Punj, 1997*c;* see Sweeney, 1999). According, to Sweeney (1999) 'besides being a problem for retailers, shoplifters have proven problematic for researchers' too (p. 62). It is more difficult, if not impossible, to conceptualise such type of offenders motives within a single classic explanation, because of it normative nature. TFS provides an excellent forum for researchers across disciplines to study various theories for explaining why so many people commit the crime and others do not, since it appears to be widely distributed across the general population and is frequently committed by otherwise non-criminals or ethical consumers (Cromwell & Thurman, 2003). Much of the research that exists on TFS offenders today gives explanations that have been used in an attempt to profile store thieves geodemographically and sociologically through particular causes (Guffey, Harris *et al.* 1979).

Time after time research has shown that the so called "shoplifters" and "shoppers" are one and the same (Sharrock, 2004). Some idea of the scale of this issue can be gained from Chapters One and Two. Most offences however are not detected, and then again not all cases they detect are passed onto the police. Whilst research can not distinguish how many and types of people store security lets go, studies do report however there are overall similarities in the process, stereotypes and prejudices with the data they hold. We should not discount the amount of offender who are let go annually. Women have always been well and over represented in such offence since the development of the modern department store. 'Shoplifting has always been considered to be the female offence *par excellence*' (Campbell, 1981, p. 93).

It seems that women's experience of networks of exchange, and the type of goods they steal is not exactly the same as men's (Walker, 1994, demonstrates the criminal associations of men and women). However, a popular stereotype about TFS is that females are more involved in this activity than males (Abelson, 1989*a;* cited in Krasnovsky & Lane, 1998). Studies have shown in the past that women predominate (Abelson, 1989*b;* Arboleda-Florez *et al.*, 1977; Brady & Mitchell, 1971; Cameron, 1964; Epps, 1962; Klemke, 1992; Krasnovsky & Lane, 1998; Robin, 1963; Won & Yamamoto, 1968). Contrary to official statistics, women do not outnumber men (BRC, 2004, 2005). For example, British Retail Consortium's figures report that while TFS is the most common crime for which females in England may commit, more males are admitted or convicted for TFS than females - 57,503 males as opposed to 35,371 females in 2004. Furthermore, other studies from official data, store apprehension data and self report data have also shown that males were equally or more involved in the crime (Cox *et al.*, 1990; Farrington, 1999; James Carolin Jr, 1992; Kallis & Vanier Dinoo, 1985; Klemke, 1982; Kraut, 1976; Moschis *et al.*, 1987; Nelson *et al.*, 1996).

Some differences of opinion exist as to whether TFS is predominantly a problem of women or is equally divided between men and women (Moschis, 1995; Moschis *et al.*, 1987). Since Moschis exploratory study found no sex differences between such offences. Moreover, when opportunity is equal, males are more likely to steal from shops than females (see Buckle & Farrington, 1994). Yet, the offender is usually perceived to be a female, but this might be for the simple reason, among others, that most people gathered in a retail establishment at a given time are females. Figures that report high amount of offenders by women is simply because the majority of shoppers are female, or information has came from stores in which most shoppers are females. For example, if we take the historical facts on TFS, when most shoppers were middle-class women, so were most TFS offenders, and as the activity of shopping began to be marketed more widely, offenders became more diverse (Sharrock, 2004).

In fact research today also suggests that the biggest proportion or percentage of shoppers in almost any given situation are women as well as girls (see Buckle & Farrington, 1994; see Lin *et al.*, 1994, found in their survey). Another reason, that women may overwhelm in figures are that studies usually investigate the offender, and women are more likely to search for help for their problem. Research that has shown a higher rate of female offenders includes those subjects who have been referred for psychological assessment or treatment (Arboleda-Florez *et al.*, 1977; Buckle & Farrington, 1994; Campbell, 1995; Cupchik & Atcheson, 1983; Day *et al.*, 2000; Gauthier & Pellerin, 1982; Kallis & Vanier Dinoo, 1985; Kelley *et al.*, 2003; Lamontagne *et al.*, 2000; Moore, 1984; Ray *et al.*, 1983; Yates, 1986). This may be the reason, why finding from those studies suggest that the female offenders were motivated more to engage in this activity due to the influence of psychological factors. If no secret that academic as well as societal views, seeing women committing deviant acts as 'sick' and men committing similar acts as 'bad' or 'wild' may also play a role in these findings (Krasnovsky & Lane, 1998, p. 227).

Furthermore, TFS has also been the focus of the research that has been conducted investigating consumer ethics between male and female subjects (Callen & Ownbey, 2003; Cole, 1989; Cox *et al.*, 1990; Klemke, 1982; Moschis *et al.*, 1987). For example, research conducted in the US has found demographic traits to be associated with ethical evaluations. It was Cox *et al.* (1990) that reported so as to more adolescent males had admitted to stealing from stores than female adolescents. Klemke (1982) found that male high school students reported more thievery activity than female high school students, and that TFS appeared to decline with age. Thus, if the British Retail Consortium's in 2004 published its figures that men offenders may outnumber women, this may be due to the fact that the high percentage of admitted offenders to be male. In addition, consistent with those studies a recent one by Callen and Ownbey (2003), found that women were less accepting of unethical behaviour than men.

A further demographic characteristic of TFS behaviour is age. In an English study on TFS in two counties, it was found that TFS was most prevalent among those aged over 55 and those 25 and under (Buckle & Farrington, 1994). Since, Buckle and Farrington speculate that TFS might be most prevalent among relatively young and relatively old people because these groups are the least likely to be prosecuted after apprehension. This similar pattern of middle-aged involvement in TFS was also reported (Arboleda-Florez *et al.*, 1977; Babin & Griffin, 1995; Hetu *et al.*, 1994; McShane & Noonan, 1993). A self report study found that a middle-aged person would be likely to steal because they believe they are least likely to be prosecuted after apprehension than a young person (see Hetu *et al.*, 1994). This may be true because they believe a young person is more noticeable to security staff than a middle-aged person (see Guffey *et al.*, 1979).

There is a high degree of consensus within TFS empirical research that individuals under 20 are most likely to be apprehended for the offence, as 40% to 60% of those apprehended are adolescent (Baumer & Rosenbaum, 1984; Castiglia, 1999; Cox *et al.*, 1990; Heath & Kosky, 1992; Klemke, 1978, 1982; Klemke, 1992; Kraut, 1976; May, 1978; Moore, 1983; Nelson *et al.*, 1996; Osgood *et al.*, 1989; Robin, 1963; Robins, 1978; Sarasalo *et al.*, 1997*a;* Schwartz & Wood, 1991; Svensson, 2002; Weisz *et al.*, 2002), a demographic characteristic that does stand out. Comprehensive retrospective studies which were important within the study of TFS suggested that this is an adolescent's act (see Murphy, 1986; see Walsh, 1978). In addition, self-report data have indicated that approximately 30% to 40% of adolescents engage in TFS activity repeatedly (Cox *et al.*, 1990; Klemke, 1978, 1982; Klemke, 1992; Osgood *et al.*, 1989).

Nonetheless, an interesting finding within literature is the noted decrease that occurs as adolescents mature (Cox *et al.*, 1990; Klemke, 1982; Kraut, 1976). For instance, with this point in question they also suggest that many individuals may simply grow out of such behaviour as they enter adulthood. In Klemke's (1978) study of teenage offenders, found that young high school students reported more involvement in the offence than the older students did. This similar pattern of decreased involvement in TFS with age was also reported by Osgood et al (1989), in their study. Their study found that TFS declined, both in the number of offences and in the number of those engaging in this behaviour, as the respondent matured. Other, studies based on apprehension data have also reached this conclusion, in relation to adults and adolescents (see Cameron, 1964; Klemke, 1992). However, different views on similar studies on adolescent TFS behaviour found no age differences (Moschis, 1995; Moschis *et al.*, 1987).

Indeed, research specifically concerned with the adolescent offenders is considered a favourite amongst scholars (Kelley *et al.*, 2003), Young offenders remain a significant factor for retailers because of its elevated levels of reported information (Cox *et al.*, 1990; Kelley *et al.*, 2003). This could be justified with Cox's *et al.* suggestions that the high levels of 'shoplifting' may also be a consequence of increase opportunity (Cox *et al.*, 1990, p. 153). The increase of desirable products, from clothing to electronic goods, means that many businesses and especially retail sectors, such as music, sport goods, health and beauty, fashion and magazines suffer disproportionately from this type of theft (Nigel, 2005). Interestingly to note that recent involvement of young people in crime has been a focus for the Government as well, not merely academics, and it set out various objectives for 2004-2008 (see BRC, 2004). Yet, additional research concerning the juvenile TFS offender is particularly important, since large a portion of offenders are adolescents (Krasnovsky & Lane, 1998). Usually research shows that rates vary little across sex and age, however the racial and cultural demographics does raise some questions.

TFS has been associated with sex, race and ethnicity, as it is with any other type of crime (see Adams & Cutshall, 1984; Bristow *et al.*, 2002; Klemke, 1992; Kruglanski & Ajzen, 1983). For instance, sex differences within TFS were cited earlier, yet studies also support that those who racially or culturally distinct may be more prone to exhibit such behaviour. This may be explained by, Klemke (1992) suggestions that this may be as such because of different lifestyles or because of prejudice or discrimination. Cameron's (1964) classical study explains that while 58% of the Blacks that were apprehended for TFS were formally charged, only 10.9% of the Whites were so charged in her investigation. This pattern was also studied in the early 1960's (refer to Adams & Cutshall, 1984; Cameron, 1964; Robin, 1963, for prejudice of arrests) and recently by Bristow's study (see Bristow *et al.*, 2002). The fact that ethnically black people were apprehended for stealing led to conclude that a significant racial bias was and is still operating, for example a security officer made the following statements "I look at every black person [as a likely shoplifter]" (cited in Bristow *et al.*, 2002, p. 14). Yet studies have found no racial bias concerning apprehension and arrest (see Cohen & Stark, 1974). Nevertheless, based on such prejudices existence it is imperative that today's' management to recognise and better understand the importance of diversity in their global market (Bristow *et al.*, 2002).

Unfortunately, as demonstrated by the actions of trained retail security officers documented in Chapter Four (i.e. interviews), real world example of chain stores management and other institution professionals demonstrate that such biases towards minorities as likely 'shoplifters' are all too common. Yet, it is interesting to note that other studies also suggest that a national citizen could steal from a store because they believe a foreign person is more noticeable to security staff (see Hart, 2003; James Carolin Jr, 1992). Thus they get away with it, because they perceive that security will not notice them since they do not demonstrate any preconceived notion of an offender. The documentation of stereotyping, such as sex, age, race and ethnicity, and social exhibited by security officers in a variety of retail stores (see Bristow *et al.*, 2002; James Carolin Jr, 1992; see Yates, 1986). Thus far, it has been argued that no conclusive evidence in studies regarding the role of race or cultural background in TFS activity has emerged as of yet (Krasnovsky & Lane, 1998). The extent to which such factors influences the likelihood of a TFS offender being apprehended, arrested, and convicted cannot be determined, although it appears evident that the same prejudices existing within society as a whole (Krasnovsky & Lane, 1998, p. 227). Overall, TFS is one of the few crimes that most people will admit to having engaged in at least once. Since TFS is highly accessible to most people, it doesn't require the kind of criminal connections, know-how, complicated skill, equipment and so on. Thus, the main technique of the shoplifter is to act like a shopper, something we're all trained to do (Sharrock, 2004).

Research therefore shows that "shoplifting rates vary little across sex, age, ethnic and cultural background and so forth," according to Kerry Segrave, author of *Shoplifting: A Social History* (Segrave, 2001). Rates of getting caught, of course, are another story. Stereotypes of criminality become self-perpetuating, as store security personnel target people they think are likely to be store offenders, catching those who fit the profile while those who don't walk out with their loot undetected (Bristow *et al.*, 2002; Sharrock, 2004).

Much information has already been gathered for accounts of particular motives or causes that tempt so many people to steal in our consumer-based society, which will be covered in the following section. Different theories offer various explanations of the main alleged causes, motives and precipitating states that can produce TFS, in their own disciplinary way. Generally, scholarly concepts are structured by the one main question which dominates the different disciplines of TFS literature; why do people steal? An etiological question that is of concern is to uncover what is the cause that makes no sense.

2.2 The Principle of Theft from Stores

2.2.1 Defining the Concept

The definition of stealing is the same today as it was in Biblical times, the taking of something that belongs to somebody else (Beck, 2000). A common term used to describe stealing from stores is 'shoplifting'. It's defined as an act of theft, which occurs when a customer (or person who appears to be a customer) steals goods from a store while it is open to the general public (Sennewald, 2000, p. 4). TFS is impersonal and can be easily rationalized by the perpetrator that he or she is not taking form hurting a person but rather from an impersonal store (Griffin, 1989, p. 126). According to Kallis and Vanier (1985) the term 'shoplifting' was based on the following attributes (commonly used in the prosecution of the crime)

> 'Taking, using, or consuming an item or product from a store without paying for it, including eating of food in supermarkets and the changing of prices.'
>
> (Kallis & Vanier Dinoo, 1985, p. 461)

Researchers across disciplines study TFS by measuring appropriate variables based on their theory. Despite the difficulties in measuring the extent and nature of it, researchers were able to explore specific dimensions of the topic in order to describe the concept in its best. Various approaches suggest diverse or parallel factors that contribute towards such behaviour, and propose that their own models could predict TFS or in general delinquent or criminal behaviour.

Nevertheless, as described earlier and later in this chapter TFS is a particular tricky concept to define because of it normative nature. Indeed, there is a considerable body of research that has established that many more people take goods from stores than is commonly assumed. However, disciplinary concerns with such TFS related issues have helped this study to form better distinct concepts. Studies also claim that TFS can be defined as a specific and a common type of behavioural action conducted by an individual or group (Fullerton & Punj, 2004*a*). Usually, TFS is explained as a variant of consumer misbehaviour, and according to Fullerton and Punj (2004, p. 1239), 'it is a behavioural act in which individuals violate the generally accepted norms of conduct in consumption situations, and thus disrupt the consumption order'.

Indeed, one of the most interesting and infuriating things about the TFS (as cited throughout this Chapter and Chapter One) is its *ambivalence* in almost every respect: individually, socially, culturally, aesthetically, economically, politically and morally. For example, when a person takes an item from a store without paying for it, it may involve both disrupting the business environment, as well as the society as a whole, and at the same time the individual is obtaining pleasure from it. The 'two sides' of ambivalent nature of TFS appear to come together remarkably easily in much of why the person took the item in the first place.

2.2.2 Why do People Steal? The etiological question

'It takes no talent to be a shoplifter' (Griffin, 1989, p. 126)

Indeed, why the person took the item in the first place, sets the grounds to explore why people steal. While we all like to get things for free and the stores are constantly promoting and placing goods on *Sale* to generate excitement about getting a bargain, some people don't cross over the line and steal the item, but some people do. The last decade has witnessed a considerable growth of interest in TFS as a research topic, not only within psychology but also in other disciplines. Actually, contemporary research on TFS tends to be characterised by a lack of interested in this crime concern (discussed in Chapter Five).

How, then, are we to explain this recent trend (as discussed in an early discussion)? In fact there are many reasons why TFS might be not considered an important and relevant topic of research today, other than the traditional concern with 'stealing goods' that has characterised consumer research for many decades. TFS is a wide-ranging, contentious and contested concept (Tonglet, 2001). In thinking about thievery, there is always much that is up for grabs. Researchers and writers tend to explain the causes in different ways in different context. As it will be perceived throughout the next section, they contrast it with different terms in order to draw out different distinctions.

This is particularly evident in relation to the varying concerns of different academic disciplines. For example, sociologists draw upon sociological concepts to explain and understand TFS, economists upon economic concepts, psychologists upon psychological concepts, and so on. Therefore, all of the heated and often polarised debates across a host of disciplines causing all kinds of theoretical problems and conceptual difficulties in what has become known as 'shoplifting studies'. What is lacking in previous studies, however, and where this study makes a particular contribution is the examination of all the different academic disciplines concerned with specifically TFS.

Research and theories on criminal behaviour has played what Toch (1979) calls the 'cause-and-effect game' (see Toch, 1979). The aim of this approach is to understanding crime, is to isolate the variables (that is, the 'causes') which produce criminal behaviour. It is interesting, in the view of this discussion of knowledge, to note Toch's assumptions, links with this study's exploratory framework. Indeed, this study distinguishes that the crime of TFS has many causes, and such causes are well documented and researched.

Therefore, in the next section of this chapter, those adverse TFS 'causes' that appear from a variety of empirical and conceptual studies, business papers, and government reports, will be reviewed and critiqued. While this study aims to be interdisciplinary (discussed within Chapter Five), it is however constructive to cite a range of existing disciplines which have sought to identify the 'causes' of this particularly prevalent type of criminal activity. Clearly, it has been previously argued that one of the challenges of every type of crime is that any attempt at its understanding demands knowledge across a wide range of disciplines (see Hollin, 1989). Therefore, this study aims to develop a comprehensive review.

2.3 Mapping the Concept

2.3.1 A Disciplinary Sketch

'Crime has many causes' (Rowe, 2002, p. 5)

TFS has been a popular area in consumer and business research and the interest is equally extensive in academia and commercial. Writers and researchers across the social sciences from criminologists, sociologists, psychologists, economists, marketers, anthropologists, etc, have all contributed to the study of TFS and have built on previous definitions of the concept.

With respect to this study, different disciplines are proposing particular explanations with their own methodologies, and theories and are trying to isolate the 'causes of TFS' namely at the methodology of their particular discipline. For example, principle disciplines are usually sectioned via one perspective to explore the phenomenon by using only one tool or approach, which then appears to make little sense to other disciplines. Therefore, this study has chosen to focus on various disciplinary engagements with the goal of further understanding the victims perspective.

The first two disciplines are economics and marketing, which have effectively been concerned with the causes of TFS as an 'economic' category. The next four are criminology, sociology, anthropology, and cultural studies, which have investigated the much broader 'political', 'cultural', 'environmental' 'social' and 'individual' implications of the causes of TFS. The next two of these are psychology and medicine that have well concerned with causes as a 'psychiatric' and 'metal' disorder. And, finally the last two are the history and geography which reveals the temporal and spatial context of the causes. However, other concerns cut across these disciplinary engagements, as discussed next within each devoted discipline.

Hence, as theories and approaches of TFS and its causes will be determined in the following sub-sections, this chapter will highlight debates across a number of different disciplines, with each discipline offering particular explanations as to what causes TFS behaviour and the best way to combat it. As on a large number of studies, researchers have focused from various disciplinary aspects of the behaviour, they have dealt with exploring the characteristics and motivations of TFS to suggest potential causes, in order for their concern theory to develop and suggest the effectiveness of their approach for prevention measures (Tonglet, 2001).

For reasons which were mentioned in Chapter One and examined in Chapter Four, this study is focused on *victims* view of prevention, which would logically achieve different objectives and might pinpoint an alternative way of tackling theft prevention. Various disciplines needs to know, much more about the individuals considered as victims, as well as why in the victims opinion, it is that particular people become victims in the first place. It is true that 'without a victim a crime may not occur' (Walsh, 1978, p. xiv), so inasmuch researchers may see, victims may perceive more. As Walsh once expressed that the reasons why a person should steal for others and the relationship with the victims' perspective is a fascinating area to consider, and thus expand new research structure for this social problem.

TFS literature therefore produces both conflicting and compatible perspectives. In fact, it is possible to distinguish a particular pattern of a range of TFS causes within the TFS related literature, which will be graphically presented in Chapter Four. The following sub-sections will review various disciplinary researchers that were involved by the growth of society's modernisation and have documented *why* a person may steal from a store which were largely explained in terms of its causes

2.3.1.1 Economics and Marketing

Attempts by economists to understand consumption patterns have generated some of the best science in economics (see Clarke *et al.*, 2003; Deaton, 1992; Schwartz, 2003). Research has drawn micro-economists interested in consumer behaviour, as well as macroeconomists for whom the behaviour of aggregate fluctuations (see Deaton, 1992, econometric work on consumption - drawing on theory as well as econometric evidence). Nevertheless, the economic and social changes formed the settings for this social crime activity and studies by various economists:

> 'The industrial revolution and accompanying demographic revolution were the backgrounds to the greatest transformation in history, in revolutionising 'needs' and in destroying the authority of customary expectations. This is what demarks the 'pre-industrial' or the 'traditional' from the modern world.'
>
> (cited in Bark, 2002, p. 3)

So as the economy gradually became more capitalistic and technologically advanced there were pressures that built up. There was a demand for the actual, and for ownership of land that was accomplished largely in the last decades of the 18th century, when also there was the gradual imposition of new capitalist laws that altered social relationships. Obviously, this had the effect of making it harder for the peasants to survive legally than before. It was between 1780 and 1830 that the 'industrial revolution' was said to have begun in Britain and revolutionised people's lives. This process was and is based upon particular social relations of the capitalist mode of production in the context of the long transition from feudalism to capitalism (see Bark, 2002, p. 3-5).

The classical economic interpretation would see the progress of economic development that consists primarily of the success of the advanced manufacturing or industrial sector over the backward agricultural or traditional sector. It is particularly based upon quantitative changes in social relations which are masked by such neutral terms as 'industrialisation'. Which in and by itself specifies only a form of material production and leaves out much more, as will be covered throughout this section (Bark, 2002).

Therefore, economics may seem the most obvious contender for the honour of the discipline with the most authority and legitimacy to speak about TFS, due to economic changes and population growth, although this depends, of course, on what one thinks TFS is. Certainly, economics has focused in considerable detail with the key motive of stealing from stores as an 'economic' category (see Keinänen, 2003; Odonnell, 1993; Prestwich, 1978).

While economics has often shown a great deal of ingenuity in dealing with criminal behaviour, it has tended to maintain a rather restrictive set of assumptions and approaches (Fetchenhauer, 1999), giving rise, in the capitalist process, to the more practically oriented treatment of general industrial social crime activities with the discipline of marketing (Schloenhardt, 1999). The recognition of economic features in criminal behaviour began in the United States in the late 1960s. Gary S. Becker's article *"Crime and Punishment: An Economic Approach"*, published in 1968, is generally considered the earliest study of crime from an economic standpoint. Becker seeks to examine criminal behaviour in the light of purely economic factors as he perceives crime as the result of rational calculations of the offender:

> 'The individual calculates (1) all his practical opportunities of earning legitimate income, (2) the amounts of income offered by these opportunities, (3) the amounts of income offered by various illegal methods, (4) the probability of being arrested if he acts illegally and (5) the probable punishment should he be caught. After making these calculations, he chooses the act or occupation with the highest discounted return.'
>
> (Becker, 1968, p. 170)

A wide range of economic studies of business crime have been undertaken since Becker's initial work (see Huntley & Stephen, 1995; Keinänen, 2003; Kraut, 1976; MacDonald, 2002; see Odonnell, 1993; Ray & Briar, 1988; Schloenhardt, 1999). The underlying principle of economic analyses of crime has been the assumption that crime can be considered as illegal economic activity and that the perpetrators are 'rationally and normally calculating people maximising their preferences subject to given constraints ... like the rest of us' (Schloenhardt, 1999). A very fine pattern in business crime was found by William Ervin Cobb (1973), which concluded in his Ph.D on "The Economics of Shoplifting" that the net benefits could be positive for shoplifters (cited in Guffey *et al.*, 1979).

In Chapter One's discussion, past commercial (cost-effective) research has typically focused on trying to assess the direct and indirect costs of business crime (see Anderson, 1999; see Brand & Price, 2000). For example, the data used by economists is usually driven by the main sources of reported crime statistics, which are acknowledged in Table 1.1-1 in Chapter One.

Interestingly, despite the reliability of those estimates, they typically support various studies to estimate economic models of business crime (see MacDonald, 2002), as well as to analyse how business crime effect the overall economy (Keinänen, 2003). Therefore, this sub-section will explore the economic and marketing motivations behind this type of crime. It highlights the considerable attention given by researchers to the economic factor as a prime cause of TFS, which also displays some overlap with the concerns of other sub disciplines such as economic psychology and socio-economic. While research in a discipline that is more or less allied to economics and marketing has been devoted to this crime and it causes, a large number of studies have been identified focusing on the offender rather that the offence (see Lamontagne *et al.*, 2000; Sweeney, 1999). For example, in a study of the economic situation and actual goods stolen, Elizabeth Yates (1986), an economist, divided 101 offenders into three categories for profit or gain and two levels of 'nonsensical' TFS, that is, not apparently motivated by need or desire. The groups were compared on demographic and relevant background information, psychological stressors preceding the offence and general psychological profile. Therefore, Yates conceptualized the existence of at least three types of offenders that differed accordingly to their need and desire of the stolen good. And concluded that he study's "profit or gain" group comprised primarily of young, single females who had criminal histories, were experiencing financial pressures, and thus stole for financial benefit (see Yates, 1986).

Similarly, to Yates's findings, a large number of studies discovered such economic motivators of theft (Cox *et al.*, 1990; Klemke, 1992; Lamontagne *et al.*, 2000; Sweeney, 1999), specifically economic explanations as to causes of TFS is extremely well accepted throughout past TFS literature. For example, possible economic causes of TFS were found earlier studies to be triggered by lack of financial resources (Arboleda-Florez *et al.*, 1977), that is driven for monetary gain (Kraut, 1976; Ray, 1987; Ray & Briar, 1988) and as discussed later in the next sub-section, perceived with a relationship of economic and social factors (Brand & Price, 2000; Cox *et al.*, 1993; Cox *et al.*, 1990; Manweller, 2004). However, a survey of store offenders was initiated by James (1992) in order to understand why they steal from the point of view of the actual offender. These results of James's survey showed that most thieves steal because they liked the item that they stole, and not for economic reasons (James Carolin Jr, 1992). Yet, while it is commonly suspected that a person takes an item because they cannot afford it', others suggest that this may be that that person may take an item because they need it to survive (Cupchik, 2002; Kallis & Vanier Dinoo, 1985). Thus, TFS can be straightforwardly economic. "I did it solely for financial reasons, as a way to pay the bills." and "I had no money, and I was hungry" explains one 33-year-old former homeless teen." (cited in Sharrock, 2004).

Interesting enough, Ray and Briar (1988) reported a study involving the extent to which economic motivations contributes to TFS behaviour. They state, that if people are stealing from stores because they need the goods and don't have the money to buy it, intervention such as psychological treatments may be useless (see Ray & Briar, 1988). Ray and Briar's study showed that four factors that could cause someone to steal from a store; of personal (psychological) stresses, social stresses, family and physical stresses. However, they suggest that some of those factors could be related to, or caused by poverty, affirming the pervasive influence of economic factors on behaviour and attitudes. Much economic research has also, in effect, adopted the approach of psychology by utilising what is generally termed socio-economic psychology, and marketing psychology which will be discussed later.

While TFS has a financial impact on businesses and consumers, the aspect of such consumer misbehaviour has received as much research attention in marketing literature as the economic perspective achieved (Albers-Miller, 1999; Babin *et al.*, 1994b; Bristow *et al.*, 2002; Budden & Griffin, 1996; Cole, 1989; Fullerton & Punj, 2004*b;* Lee, 2000; McIntyre *et al.*, 1999; Mitchell & Ka Lun Chan, 2002; Muncy & Vitell, 1992; Phillips *et al.*, 2005; Prestwich, 1978; Wilkes, 1978). Marketing scholars began to explore in greater depth the issues of consumer misdeeds (see Budden & Griffin, 1996). Researchers of marketing history have noted that organized thought about marketing phenomena existed before the formal discipline, named Marketing, emerged around the turn of the twentieth century. Advertising was a brilliantly analysed by the German Historical economist Karl Knies in 1857 (Fullerton & Punj, 2004*b,* p. 8).

Most recently, marketers have focused on developing new advertising campaigns, in order to discourage or even prevent the offender to carry out the offence (see Callen & Ownbey, 2003; Fullerton & Punj, 2004*a*). In 2003, Callen and Ownbey reported a study on consumer ethical decision making within a marketing framework. Comparing behavioural scenarios to individual factors (i.e. demographic of respondents) and organisational factors (i.e. marketer's decision), in order to assess consumer's ethical or unethical decision. Callen and Ownbey found that a tendency towards a belief that some behaviour were more unethical than other behaviours (see Callen & Ownbey, 2003, for a full review of their results). They suggest the public service campaigns similar to the 'don't do drugs' or 'don't drink and drive' campaigns could heighten consumers' awareness of the costs of unethical consumer behaviour. In addition to unethical consumer behaviour costing the offender fines and possibly imprisonment, unethical consumer behaviour costs consumers through an increase in prices and a shopping environment that may be inconvenient.

Callen and Ownbey also continue by suggesting that marketers may want specifically to target the campaigns at men, who are currently unemployed and practice their primary faith inconsistently. A spokesperson with whom the men would identify could be chosen for the campaigns. An in-store display of the spokesperson could serve as a reminder to consumers not to exhibit unethical consumer behaviour (Callen & Ownbey, 2003, p. 108). Therefore, the overall message Callen and Ownbey send to practitioners is that their marketers must be cautious when developing marketing strategies based on factors that promote ethical choices in the market place. It is interesting, in view of this discussion of marketing factors, to note Fullerton and Punj's (2004) argument that consumer misbehaving is unintentionally stimulated by the same marketing factors, which promote an ideology of consumption. Specifically they argue,

> 'Consumer misbehavior is a pervasive and integral element of consumption within the ideology of consumption. It has developed as an intrinsic element of modern consumption behavior, and is sustained by the same marketing factors, which define the consumption culture's essential nature.'
>
> (Fullerton & Punj, 2004*a*, p. 1247-8)

However, different marketing approaches toward the management of consumer misbehaviour are in use (see Fullerton & Punj, 2004*a*), since it was referred to earlier in this sub-section by various studies that the management of misbehaved customers is an important issue of marketing scholars. Nevertheless, if we capture Fullerton and Punj's philosophy that consumer misbehaviour is an 'ineradicable' component of consumption culture itself, many of the causes of TFS may be linked to values innate to the culture of consumption, because as they suggest the trust of the *ideology of consumption* is to embrace nearly *all* consumer groups.

While a large number of studies announce the worrying raise of TFS offences (mentioned in Chapter One), the links may be overlooked by cumulative marketing activities, since marketers fear that it would counter their efforts to sell more. Therefore, misbehaviour by consumers is thus an unintended consequence of marketing (Fullerton & Punj, 2004*a*). Interestingly, a classical study conducted by Moore (1988) found that treatment interventions was short-term crisis counselling followed by marketing education which encouraged the offender to admit that TFS was a crime and to consider the realistic consequences of additional TFS. This was similar to the economic study reported by Ray and Briar earlier, Moore also thought it is difficult to see how this would address the poverty problem without considering the social factors (see Moore, 1984). Therefore, the social life of things, of course, is intimately related to the social and the common life of people.

Other disciplines have sought to recover what economics and marketing has treated in a more or less reductive manner. Without denying that disciplinary differences remain within criminal research (Hollin, 1989), a variety of work on causes of TFS from an economic and marketing disciplinary perspectives has been identified. The following sub-section will enlighten the economic and marketing outlook, which brought a set of concerns contributed from cultural studies, social economic studies, and psychological studies. Therefore, next discusses what criminologist, sociologists, anthropologist, and cultural studies perceives the causes of TFS to be, debates on issues of rich vs. poor, young vs. old, or educated vs. illiteracy.

2.3.1.2 Criminology, Sociology, Anthropology and Culture Studies

These schools of thoughts have investigated the much broader 'individual', 'environmental', 'social', 'cultural' as well as 'political' explanations as to the causes of TFS. Classical sociological and criminological theories offer a useful explanation of TFS prevalence, in terms of social class, structure, influence, demographic, socio-economic, and environmental variables. However, why the crime occurred in the first place made it socially and politically interesting (Bark, 2002). As far as the term TFS itself was created around the turn of the 18th century to differentiate between poor people stealing food and the new widespread epidemic of middle-class women's theft from department stores. The stores were blamed for tempting weak, willpower-deficient women with luxury goods that were out from behind the counters for customers to touch for the first time (Sharrock, 2004). Due to the enormity of economic and social costs (Brand & Price, 2000) the crime of TFS became so politically important (Bark, 2002).

The study of crime evolved into the specialist criminological discipline, using an integrated approach, in which the elements of other discipline are used to develop theories and explanations of crime and its causes. From a wider criminological point of view, TFS attracts attention because it is obvious that a numbers of factors that intervene (Kivivuori, 1998; Murphy, 1986). There is some debate however, as to whether criminology has achieved the status of an independent discipline for criminal behaviour (Hollin, 1989; Walsh, 1978). Hollin's (1989) book dealt with reviewing some of the well known criminal theories and suggests that criminology relies so heavily on other disciplines that its independence is doubtful based. He claims it would be better considered as a specialisation within another established field such as sociology. Therefore, the view taken by the individual criminologist, together with their own background in sociology, psychology and so on, will influence the way in which research evidence is gathered, data interpreted, and theories constructed (Hollin, 1989).

This sub-section briefly examines criminological theories that aim to discover the causes of crime and to develop effective strategies for controlling such crime. Two schools of thought exist within criminology, the *classical* and *positivist* theories. The *classical* theorists hold central the concept of free will in explaining why a person steals.

> 'When the opportunity for crime arises, the individual has a free choice between criminal and non-criminal behaviour. If the payoffs for the criminal act as greater than the retribution it will bring, so the probability of a crime increases.'
>
> (Hollin, 1989, p. 8)

Hollin claims that this approach suggests that severe "retribution" will deter people from criminal act, yet other critics argue that extreme measures are unnecessary and, indeed, may be counter-productive (Beccaria, 1996). On the contrary *positivist* theorists' argue that influences outside of the realm of free will are most important in determining behaviour. So these influences have ranged from biological factors, to psychological constructs. While from a more sociological perspective, there are *social structure* theories which emphasise concepts such as "anomie" and "strain" which results from class structure and poverty, and the *social process* theories which focus on the effects of, for example, education, peer relationships, and the family (Hollin, 1989). Hollin argues that positivist theories suggests,

> '...that some form of helpful intervention [be it welfare at a social level or treatment at an individual level] is the optimum strategy for reducing crime.'
>
> (Hollin, 1989, p. 10)

While conflicts views of crime encompass a range of opinion, a new model within criminology emerged, known as *radical criminology*. In contrast to classical theories it is proposed that no act in itself is naturally immoral or criminal. Thus, the definitions of crime are socially determined, reflecting current social values, which it associated to those positivist theories that incorporate biologically based explanations of crime and its causes (Hollin, 1989)(discussed in more detail in the following sub-section). Even so it's a radical framework which usually criminology views crime as a function of a capitalist system which produces those who have wealth and power and those who do not (Bark, 2002; Hollin, 1989).

> 'In a capitalist system, the unequal distribution of wealth means that those without finance have to resort to crime to enjoy the luxuries and advantages seen to be enjoyed by others. Crime therefore is in some instances a function of poverty. The rich also commit crimes for the purpose of gaining further wealth and power.'
>
> (Hollin, 1989, p. 10)

It is interesting to view Hollin's argument in order to note Fullerton and Punj's recent concerns about the crime of TFS, as

> '...should we see kleptomaniacs as pathetically disturbed people or as spoiled socialites and celebrities scheming to evade personal accountability for theft?'
> (Fullerton & Punj, 2004*b*, p. 8-9)

While theories usually separate social and economic groups, or class, within society of who commits the type of crime, it is claimed that the rich a powerful who control the means of regulating crime. Hollin (1989) has noted that the function of the criminal justice system is viewed in very much the same terms. Criminal laws exist for the express purpose of protecting the rich and powerful from the remainder of the population (Hollin, 1989). Therefore, the conflict arises since legal systems will discriminate against the poor (see Hollin, 1989). Such theories based on conflict are clearly *political*, *economic* and *social* in orientation (Bark, 2002). In terms of solutions a number of modern radical criminology researchers (Bark, 2002; Beccaria, 1996; Kivivuori, 1998) suggest that changes must occur at economic, political, and social level (Hollin, 1989).

It also concerns the crime of TFS, stereotypes about social and economic groups, or class, within our consumption-based society of who steals from stores, and can also reflect to widely held social, economic and political perspectives. For example, as recommended by radical criminological approach, if process from the present capital system to monopoly capitalism can be made, then redistribution of wealth can take place and crimes will no longer be necessary (Hollin, 1989). Therefore, TFS that does occur will be the result of individual psychopathology, which is kleptomania (Fullerton & Punj, 2004*a*). While, criminal laws exist and are applied to the benefit of those who hold social and economic power, thus gave rise to a theory of criminology which relies on a mixture of social and semantic processes to explain deviance in an interactionist view called Labelling Theory (Hollin, 1989). However sociological work will be best to explain this theory, which will be discussed later in this subsection.

A small number of academic TFS studies have focused on the criminological aspects of TFS behaviour (for a review of traditional TFS research see Farrington, 1999). Usually they relate to other disciplines in order to explain why a person may steal. It has been cited that criminological attention regarding the causes of TFS is directed primarily on the situation of the offence (the crime) rather than the offending behaviour (the criminal) (Bagley & Gendron, 2002; Herbert & Hyde, 1985; Herbert & Thomas, 1990). TFS patterns and trends are specifically analysed by policy-oriented criminology research (Curtin *et al.*, 2001; Ekblom, 1986; Geason & Wilson, 1992*b;* JHSA, 1995; Pease, 1994) for appropriate policy measures pursued.

Nevertheless, the lack of attention as part of this principle discipline may be associated with this chapters' earlier discussion on problems of underexposed TFS. Klemke (1992) suggests that there is a tendency for criminologists to look at general trends in society as a whole instead of looking at particular crimes (Klemke, 1992), since most criminological studies utilise crime pattern analysis. Nelson et al's study expressed that the discipline of criminology has not focused specifically on the offence of TFS (Nelson *et al.*, 1996), thus some researchers depend mainly on general criminological theory for developing explanation as to the causes of TFS. It is interesting in the view of Klemke's (1992) and Nelson et al's (1996) emphasis, to note Bark's (2002) argument, that,

> '...the changes in the global economy although they have impinged on criminological theory generally have not impinged upon shoplifting analysis.'
>
> (Bark, 2002, p. 19)

On the other hand, criminological TFS studies also indicated that offending behaviour arises from the interaction between the criminal (individual) and the crime (environment or situation) (Farrington *et al.*, 1994). And

> 'It is plausible to suggest that the individual potential for offending, or antisocial tendency, depends on energizing, directing and inhibiting process. Whether a person with a certain potential commits an offence in any given situation depends on situational factors such as opportunities, costs and benefit, and on a person's subjective probabilities of the possible outcomes.' (Farrington *et al.*, 1994, p. 94)

Farrington et al (1994) theorised that TFS might be prevented by targeting either the individual's energising directing or inhibiting processes, or the situational factors. Early criminologists (Carroll & Weaver, 1986; Weaver & Carroll, 1985) were also cited concerning the thought process of TFS criminals (the individual), in order to provide suitable causal explanations and preventions.

In general, among criminological perspectives, Rational Choice Theory (Carroll & Weaver, 1986; Farrington *et al.*, 1994; Fetchenhauer, 1999) and Routine Activity Theory (Cohen & Felson, 1979) are approaches commonly adopted to explain causes of TFS behaviour. Studies that adopt those concepts point out that TFS is highly tangible and very much generated by the main "cause" of opportunity to carry it out, which is that opportunity leads people to steal. In an earlier discussion, this chapter mentioned that increases in TFS have been as well attributed to modern retailing practices, for example, opportunities arose based on open displays and self-service (D'Alto, 1992) and a retail setting which provides opportunities for TFS coupled with low risks of apprehension (Ekblom, 1986; Johnston *et al.*, 1994; Lo, 1994; Nelson *et al.*, 1996; Nelson & Perrone, 2000; Tonglet, 2001).

Those theories imply that the store employees, when providing an appropriate level of customer service, play an important role in theft prevention shrinkage control. Similarly, a large number of studies found that a person may steal because they are irritated with the shop assistants service or attitudes (Elquist, 2000; Farrington *et al.*, 1994; Lin *et al.*, 1994; Lo, 1994; Weaver & Carroll, 1985). Lack of personal service may make stores seem faceless, making potential offenders feel that there is no specific victim for their crime (Cox *et al.*, 1990, p. 152). Possible deterrents may be that department store service could return to a service orientation (Lin *et al.*, 1994), since evidence suggests that 'many department stores simply don't offer desires services' (Dotson & Patton, 1992, p. 17). According to Dotson and Patton, businesses who are willing to adopt a new approach for a healthier environment are the ones for positive opportunities for profitability and growth. Since then, a former Wal-Mart executive claimed that poor employee security training may be on of the main causes of TFS (Hart, 2003).

The environment in which businesses carry on business is heavily influenced by environmental and social factors, often very much out of their real control. For example, there has been a significant increase in the use of drugs and the business industry is seen as a primary means for addicts to steal goods to feed their addition (see BRC, 2005). Thus, environmental criminology focuses on store surroundings, or in general is concerned with situational factors (Adler, 1993; Nelson *et al.*, 1996). In fact, both rational choice theory and routine activity theory are under the umbrella of environmental criminology, which focuses on *how* physical environment influences offenders making their choices, as well as with the relationship among the two (see Nelson *et al.*, 1996). For example, the latter investigates the correlation between individual choice and physical environment.

Rational Choice Theory and Routine Activity Theory have been successfully demonstrated in the past, and show that it is possible to influence the choice of committing or not committing a crime, by modifying the pre-criminal situation (see Bagley & Gendron, 2002). Generally, rational choice theory assumes that human beings are rational decision makers (Carroll & Weaver, 1986). As Carroll and Weaver asserts, crime is purposive behaviour designed to meet the offender's commonplace needs including money, status, sex, and excitement. In most TFS offences, however, offenders make each reasoned choice based on maximisation of pleasure and profit before taking any action. Potential offenders go through a cost-benefit analysing process based on rational calculation (Carroll & Weaver, 1986). In addition, offenders obtain profit through illegal means, they think carefully before deciding to steal, as studies found (Carroll & Weaver, 1986; Cox *et al.*, 1990; Cressey, 1950) that potential offenders weigh rewards with opportunity cost, return rate and perceived effort and risk in TFS commitment.

Routine activity theory shares the same principle with rational choice theory. The theory states that a crime occurs when all three ingredients of crime match at the same time and space. Cohen and Felson (1979) that these three ingredients are a motivated offender, a suitable target, and the absence of a capable guardian (that is, entry/exit screening or surveillance), and these raise the chance of taking an item from a store without paying for it. They suggest that the convergence of these three ingredients in time and space increase the profitability of crime (see Cohen & Felson, 1979). It is interesting to view Cohen and Felson's (1979) understanding, and note Tonglet's (2001) argument that since TFS behaviour shares certain similarities with 'normal' consumer behaviour, it results from the coincidence of those three factors (or ingredients): a motivated consumer (or, in the case of customer theft), desirable products and the opportunity to purchase (or steal) them (Tonglet, 2001).

This theory assumes that offenders also consider the nature of goods during selection of suitable targets. The nature of goods includes value, inertia, visibility and accessibility. Thus, the supporters of such theory (for example, see Hayes, 1997) claim that large open supermarkets and shopping malls located everywhere, with many novel items displayed in open areas without proper protection, and the temptation of the layout of attractive items, people are easily motivated to steal. Similar findings are also reported by other studies from various disciplines (Arboleda-Florez *et al.*, 1977; Campbell, 1981; Farrington *et al.*, 1994; Farrington & Burrows, 1993; French *et al.*, 1984; Griffin, 1989; Hayes, 1997; Lo, 1994; Nelson *et al.*, 1996). Both approaches, as well as followers of those theories suggest that the crime of TFS will be prevented either by reducing the opportunities for stealing in-stores (for example, changes in store design) or by increasing the risk of apprehension (for example, publicity notices, security devices, security staff and other staff). This approach is the basis for current situational crime prevention theory (see Farrington *et al.*, 1994; Sutton *et al.*, 2001; see Tonglet, 2001; Wong, 2005), and this theory is commonly seen an approach that emphases on opportunity-reduction.

In 2005, Wong's study of children's "shoplifting" behaviour found that factors like avoidance of risk and efforts play a significant role in the criminal decision process (Wong, 2005). Under this approach, (Beck & Willis, 1998; Farrington *et al.*, 1994) TFS behaviour is perceived as serving the basic purpose of benefiting a reasoning offender through a sequence of decisions and choices that are largely influenced by the risk, efforts and rewards attached to the expected outcome of the action. Underlying the notion of situational crime prevention, there is an assumption that a persons theft behaviour result from careful individual calculation of cost and benefits (Carroll & Weaver, 1986; Weaver & Carroll, 1985). Offenders of this type of behaviour are seen as rational and thus held full responsible to their misbehaviours.

Finding from various TFS studies (Beck & Willis, 1998; Carroll & Weaver, 1986; Farrington *et al.*, 1994; Weaver & Carroll, 1985) confirm that if most of the offenders are rational, there is no denying that situational crime prevention strategies should be used (see Beck & Willis, 1998; Gill, 2000). Such an approach disregards the root causes of their theft behaviours, and in addition tends to ignore the central component of every theft event, as well as criminal happening (see Tonglet, 2001). The results presented by Wong's study suggest that a large proportion of offenders (specifically adolescents) are not rational offenders, and claims that tactics based on situational crime prevention may not be useful for these types of child offenders (Wong, 2005).

Yet, other research on TFS has questioned whether the notion that stealing is a function of rational choice, and suggest it is a function of irrational choice (Beck & Willis, 1998; Farrington *et al.*, 1994; Farrington & Burrows, 1993; Solomon & Ray, 1984). For example, Beck and Willis suggest that it might be unwise to 'categorise shop theft' as rational, which implies the behaviour is merely one of opportunity. They go on to say that if business crime is unplanned, increasing costs to prevent these crimes might be wasted because preventing random crime is difficult, if not possible (see Beck & Willis, 1998).

From a criminological point of view, TFS is a most intriguing phenomenon because a large number of variables are involved (Klemke, 1992; Nelson *et al.*, 1996), and for that reason Hollin (1989) noted that criminology relies so heavily on other disciplines, and considered it as a specialisation within another established field such as sociology. Theoretical approaches include Social Strain Theory (Agnew, 1992; Capowich *et al.*, 2001; Mazerolle & Piquero, 1998; Paternoster & Mazerolle, 1994) as well as the Social Labelling Theory (Link *et al.*, 1989; Matsueda, 1992), which will be discussed next to recognise how these criminological theories can be used to research the social environment of peoples' interactions with one another and their social circumstances.

Next, this sub-section will discus that unlike criminology, which focuses on mainly physical environment, sociological theories emphasise more the social environment where human beings work and live. While from a more sociological perspective, there are *social structure* theories which emphasise concepts such as 'anomie', and 'strain' (that is, social strain theory) within TFS which result from class structure and poverty. Along the same lines there are *social process* theories (that is, social labelling theory, status frustration theory, and social control theory) which focus on the effect of, for example, education, peer relationships, and the family.

The relationship between social class and TFS has been a major preoccupation of sociologists (Cameron, 1964; Cox *et al.*, 1993; Cupchik, 2002; Hirschi, 1975; Johnstone, 1978; Klemke, 1982; Klemke, 1992; Paternoster & Mazerolle, 1994; Tittle *et al.*, 1978). Despite a large volume of sociological research, there is still considerable debate as to the importance of this key sociological viable (Caputo, 2004; Johnstone, 1978; Sharrock, 2004; Tittle *et al.*, 1978). Still they have managed to stress the importance of the relationships youths have within their immediate social networks and within the larger social structure. They have also managed to address the issue of how "juvenile shoplifting" varies by social class (see Klemke, 1982).

Sociologists have analysed data in order to come up with particular explanations as to the causes of TFS, focusing on the social class backgrounds of economic situations, family vulnerability, occupational structure and educational level. For example, the classic study by Cameron (1964), revealed more TFS with lower class background, and those finding were also supported by other studies too (see Cox *et al.*, 1993; Klemke, 1982; Won & Yamamoto, 1968). Those and additional studies stress that a person may steal from a store because of their low level in education (see Cameron, 1964; Klemke, 1982; Klemke, 1992; Prestwich, 1978) and/or because those individuals come from a broken family (see Hansen & Breivik, 2001; Heath & Kosky, 1992; Kelley *et al.*, 2003; Wilkinson, 1974).

Social class was also measured by studies using occupational structure, which show that there was a strong relationship between a persons' (mainly a parents) occupation and TFS behaviour (Cameron, 1964; Caputo, 1998; James Carolin Jr, 1992; Klemke, 1982; Lamontagne *et al.*, 1996; Moore, 1984). Empirical studies support the hypothesis that an increase in the opportunity costs will reduce criminality. For example, Chiricos (1987) summarise results of over 100 empirical estimations that concern the relationship between property crimes, education and unemployment. He found that in 85% of all situations there was a positive relationship between unemployment and crimes and in 40% of all situations the relationship was statistically significant (Chiricos, 1987).

While, the relationship between a persons' social environment and their social circumstances is important for attributing TFS, a sociologist might take the advantage of it and only mention socio-economic issues as a cause of TF. That is they form their own disciplinary explanation about whether adolescents are born to parents who are rich or poor, employed or unemployed, and/or are well educated or unschooled. Moreover, much of economic situation of youths is mediated by, and simply reflects that of, their parents (Klemke, 1982). Klemke's reviews that various studies see the family as a major source of attachment to the legitimate social order.

Accordingly, social control theorists (Cullen, 1994; Paternoster & Mazerolle, 1994) affirms that social bonds inversely relate to delinquent act. Social bonds comprise four components, that is, family attachment, school commitment, conventional involvement and belief (see Cullen, 1994; Paternoster & Mazerolle, 1994; see Wong, 2005). According to Wong' individuals with higher levels of social bonds were unlikely to steal. On the contrary those on the lower end of such bonding were more than likely to steal. Studies also suggest that TFS activity was more frequently reported by those youth who were having problems with their parents (Klemke, 1982; Klemke, 1992).

Based on a survey concluded by adolescents, Cox's et al. study in 1993, revealed three principal factors of social influence that prompts TFS behaviour among adolescents, male and female alike. The particular explanations as to the causes of TFS offered by their study is that adolescent involvement in TFS is influenced by their friends, second, their attachment to their parents, and finally to their own beliefs regarding the morality of TFS behaviour. Their findings suggest that exposure to friends who steal from stores appears to weaken youth's moral objection to this behaviour, while parental attachment tends to strengthen them. In addition, they state that youths with strong parental attachment tend to socialise less with peers who steal, and this further decreases their involvement in any theft offences (see Cox *et al.*, 1993). In doing so, Cox et al. (1993) study followed the work of earlier researchers which have stressed the importance of the nature of the relationships people (especially adolescents) have within their immediate social networks and within the larger social structure (Baumer & Rosenbaum, 1984; Forney *et al.*, 1996; Hirschi, 1975; see Johnson, 1979; Klemke, 1982; Klemke, 1992; Kraut, 1976; Nettler, 1989; Verrill, 1967).

In the discussion above, individuals experiencing problems within their major social involvement (family, economic, and education) are indeed proven to be more vulnerable to TFS involvement. For example, a teenage investigation explains that lower-class teens tend to steal more from stores than affluent youths (Hindelang, 1971). Similarly, Klemke's (1982) study also found that young (male and female alike) individuals with lower-class backgrounds were somewhat more likely to steal than young individuals with higher-class backgrounds. This relationship was also observed when parent's education was used as an indicator of social class (Klemke, 1982). Other studies also found that parent's social class was also a basic indicator. For example, a parent might steal because they want their family to appear of a higher social class to outsiders (Campbell, 1981; Schwartz & Wood, 1991), and/or ether because they do not want their child to feel unwanted from their child's friends, nor they do not want their child to feel unwanted from their child's friends (Elliott & Leonard, 2004).

Moreover, another cause is when parents are trying to hide the family's lack of money (Arboleda-Florez *et al.*, 1977; Rouke, 1957), or even in order to please their child because they want to keep their child happy (Rouke, 1957; Schwartz & Wood, 1991). Various studies support that when the sex of the parent was included as a control variables, the relationship for males (fathers) was weaker while the relationship was stronger for females (mothers) (see Cupchik, 2002). Cupchik suggests based on various exploratory studies that the persons' 'parent' is a mother and she is more likely to take an item for her child's well being. Various scholars (see Forney *et al.*, 1996; Klemke, 1982; Nettler, 1989) also support that when people decrease their levels of social bonds, strong association with undesirable peers may lead to a high possibility of learning delinquent behaviour. As Nettler (1989) notes, that

> '...when individuals see others stealing with impunity, they are likely to follow...' [given that this study suggest based on its review that the actual odds of getting caught are quite low].
>
> (Nettler, 1989, p. 30)

Another study on teenage offenders, for example conducted by Forney et al, (1996), suggested that teens that had a close relationship with their parents were more able to withstand peer pressure to steal from stores. Simply, individuals may incorporate peers' delinquent values into their values and perform theft behaviour as a result. Thus, the undesirable peer effect steam from *differential association theory*, which states that criminal behaviour, is 'learned'. As it was argued, the more the interaction with undesirable peers, the more criminal attitudes and behaviour are accepted and learned (Sutherland & Cressey, 1978). The various theories cited above stress the importance of evaluating the role peers play in delinquency involvement. Some potential significance in this regard is the rather well established finding (Baumer & Rosenbaum, 1984; Campbell, 1981; Robin, 1963; Schwartz & Wood, 1991)(Cameron, 1964) that young individuals, in contrast to adults, are much more likely to steal with companions.

Additional research also support the view that individuals who feel are labelled thieves by others, and perceive themselves to be thieves too, are more likely to be involved in such activity (refer to Klemke, 1982, for a critique of the labelling perspective). Hirschi's assessment of labelling theories value in explaining delinquency claims that TFS increased the likelihood of being labelled. Obviously, there is supportive evidence to suggest based on the above finding that an individual's parental bonding, school bonding, moral beliefs and undesirable peer association are linked with TFS behaviour (Capowich *et al.*, 2001; Cauffman *et al.*, 2004; Cox *et al.*, 1993; Cox *et al.*, 1990; Cullen, 1994; Klemke, 1982; Klemke, 1992; Mazerolle & Piquero, 1998; Paternoster & Mazerolle, 1994).

Those studies suggest that by controlling those causes it is possible to prevent this type of behaviour (Mazerolle & Piquero, 1998; Paternoster & Mazerolle, 1994; Wong, 2005). Paternoster and Mazerolle (1994) claimed that individuals who hold weak moral prohibitions against stealing and who have a friend who steals have a greater intention to steal from a store. Similarly, Mazerolle and Piquero (1998) concluded from their study that poor moral beliefs and exposure to deviant peers were variables that were related significantly to intentions to TFS (particularly for females). Bases on Wong's (2005) finding, he concludes by suggesting that it is possible to prevent adolescents from becoming thieves or assist potential thieves to stop short at the primary level of deviance, by targeting at restoring strong social bonding with families and school, as well as weakening the attachment to delinquent peers.

The above material highlights the relevance of socialisation programmes and awareness-raising campaigns which emphasises the anti-social nature of business crime (considered in depth within Chapter Five), to bring about a change approach to this crime. An excellent example is given by Hayes (1997), which suggests that certain items (such as condoms) may be stolen simply because the offender is too embarrassed to purchase them legitimately. Similar findings have been reported by other research (Cameron, 1964; Cox *et al.*, 1990; Hayes, 1997; Klemke, 1978; Mitchell *et al.*, 1992) for male and female alike, and a few studies suggest that a socialisation campaign may eliminate the embarrassment from purchasing personal items, thus be effective in reducing this type of theft.

Social pressures to project identity have been perceived by some researchers as the most critical casual variable. TFS is more a response to peer pressure among adolescents (Johnson, 1979; Moore, 1983). Other studies found that individuals may try to compete with their peers, and thus turn to TFS activities (Cameron, 1964; Campbell, 1981; Castiglia, 1999; Cox *et al.*, 1993; Cox *et al.*, 1990; Cupchik, 2002; Elliott & Leonard, 2004; Klemke, 1982; Klemke, 1992; Moore, 1983; Robin, 1963; Schwartz & Wood, 1991; Verrill, 1967; Weisz *et al.*, 2002). Interesting, Moore claimed that the most influential motive for TFS between youths is 'for status among peers' (Moore, 1983, p. 111).

Yet, TFS among adolescent is remarkably similar to adult TFS. This chapter now discusses issues related to TFS among youth and family, and in the context of vulnerability, school and peer pressure. Like adults, the reasons adolescents steal vary, but most commonly it is because they wanted nice things, felt pressured by friends, competing for attention, wanted to see if they could get away with it, or were angry, depressed, confused, to relive boredom and/or other things that can lead them to steal.

Much sociological research suggests that a substantial proportion of thieves are likely do be adolescents (as discussed earlier in this chapter or refer to Appendix A.1 at statement 32, for references). Stealing for the thrill of it is usually attributed to young people, may of whom are sucked in by the dare, or by peer pressure – 'everyone is doing it'(Geason & Wilson, 1992*a*). A popular attribute is that a young person takes an item because his friends are daring him to take it (Castiglia, 1999; Cox *et al.*, 1993; Cox *et al.*, 1990; Schwartz & Wood, 1991; Verrill, 1967) or even because they want to show they are 'cooler' than others (Castiglia, 1999; Moore, 1983; Schwartz & Wood, 1991). Therefore, sociologists as well as criminologists usually suggest 'it's very common for all young people to commit at least one criminal offence at some stage' (Svensson, 2002, p. 408), and a large number of studies identified social factors that causes social pressures and influences.

To review, a large amount of consumer research devoted to TFS and it causes is performed via isolating broad sociological categories (Babin & Griffin, 1995). While the sociological theorists cited above pose divergent ideas, there is a broad agreement on three general propositions. First, that individuals experiencing problems within their major social involvement (family, economic, and education) are more vulnerable to TFS involvement. Second, that the kinds of TFS involvement individuals become involved in are closely related to the same kind of others involved in TFS. Third, individuals who are labelled thieves by others, and perceive themselves to be thieves too, are more likely to be involved in such type of activity.

Even classical criminological theories offer a useful explanation of TFS prevalence, in terms of sociological factors and being defined as criminals. As note elsewhere, the term TFS itself was created around the turn of the century to differentiate between poor people stealing food and the new widespread epidemic of middle-class women's theft from department stores. The stores were blamed for tempting weak, willpower-deficient women with luxury goods that were out from behind the counters for customers to touch for the first time. As discussed in another sub-section TFS has been cast as a way for women to act out repressed sexual desires, starting in the early eighteenth century with its definition as a form of 'kleptomania' (refer to Abelson, 1989*a*) and continuing through the twentieth century in sociological perspectives as an explanation for the high rate of single, divorced and widowed women who steal (see Mazur & Michalek, 1998). Yet, anthropological and cultural studies claim that to most social scientists, the concept of theft (or criminal) behaviour is framed within the Standard Social Science Model (Rowe, 2002). As discussed above, various studies published in the area business crime research has been predominantly sociological and interpretive in nature, and focused mainly upon adolescents offender within their current society (Osgood *et al.*, 1989).

While, this chapter notes that socio-criminal theorists have come up with many explanations, ranging from desperate people living in poverty resorting to theft through to groups of people just showing off to one another or differences in the socio-economic classes, and from the social pressures to project identity, to the notion of rebellion against perceived abuses of retail power. Other studies argue that the social sciences "lag" behind the natural sciences as a result of being held hostage to ideologies which are opposed to a more empirical and biological view of human nature and resulting human society, culture and history (see Pinker, 2002). By adopting Pinker's theorisation, the increase in TFS may be explained by the increase in population or opportunities, and exacerbated by the growth of society's cultural evolution of modernization.

Probable one of the most famous cultural studies was conducted by Abelson in 1989 which was cited in the beginning of this chapter, asserting the history of social change and TFS. It was a study that focuses on middle-class urban women as participants in new forms of consumer culture. Within the spatial world of the department store, women found themselves challenged to resist the enticements of consumption. Many succumbed, buying both what they needed and what they desired, but also stealing what seemed so readily available. Pitted against these middle-class women were the management, detectives, and clerks of the department stores. Abelson argues that in the interest of concealing this darker side of consumerism, women of the middle class, but not those of the working class, were allowed to steal and plead incapacitating illness (kleptomania). The invention of kleptomania by psychiatrists and the adoption of this ideology of feminine weakness by retailers, media, the general public, the accused women themselves, and even the courts reveals the way in which a sex discrimination analysis allowed proponents of consumer capitalism to mask its contradictions (Abelson, 1989*a*). Unlike social theorists who view industrial capitalism as a resolute march toward modernity, Ableson offers influential cultural study of consumer culture and technological change, class privilege and roles driven from sexual characteristics in transition, female criminality and social control.

Similarly, various sociological papers note that young women as well as males, many single parents, tend to steal which they often view such phenomena by implying that the social capacities target TFS. This study argues based in this review that their approach to human behaviour in today's modern society are not enlighten enough, because they rigorously overlook the individual, and include stereotypes. The trouble is, this type of behaviour has not simply achieved the middle class dream, but has also exceeded it. Studies offer particular explanation as what causes TFS such as a famous celebrity may steal because they want 'spotlight' media publicity (Adler, 2002; Cupchik, 2002) or even because that a wealthy individual perceives they have the authority and power to comply such behaviour (Guéguen, 2003).

For example, consider a famous exposed TFS arrest, former Miss America Bess Myerson, or the case of Winona Ryder, who was arrested in December 2002 on felony charges of taking a large amount in clothes from the Beverly Hills branch of Saks Fifth Avenue, we can argue that "rich girls" steal too, so if we take these cases and strip away the stereotypes, what do you have left? You have a group of celebrities that have their own code of an attitude situation that functions arises through identifications served by their actions that have been handed down through generations of socialisation. While some people argue that they only take necessities, even more report that they take items they wouldn't buy, such as expensive luxuries. Winona Ryder may have stolen her Marc Jacobs sweater, but wearing it in the courtroom still added legitimacy to the power of the commodity. Thus, a significant threat to capitalism may be a more extended motive for TFS activities.

This is another, entirely different view of TFS, which not surprisingly has been overlooked by the mainstream press and most academics (Sharrock, 2004). Arguably, studies refers to it that it can serve as a *political tool* (Bark, 2002; Cupchik, 2002; Guéguen, 2003; Sharrock, 2004). For example, Sharrock suggests that potential TFS offenders see their stealing as a tool of protest in and of itself. Individuals are sought to steal from corporate chain stores and other capitalist institutions in order to disrupt the economy and protest the very ideas on which our consumer-based society is built. However, those groups of political followers have been argued in the past by Walsh (1978) that they do little to affect the TFS rates, even if some TFS apprehended offenders suggest that such condition are widespread (see Walsh, 1978).

Thus further motive can be ideology. There are people who genuinely believe that TFS is sensible and practical behaviour (as seen earlier in this chapter). The ideology that supports this is rooted in politics which are opposed to capitalism, in other words, communism (see Walsh, 1978). Much like responsible shoppers they believe it is important to be socially responsible thieves. For example a person may say that "I'm not going to steal from the independent businessman". Though they articulate it differently from those who are overtly political, these shoplifters are often motivated by a similar anti-capitalist mentality (Sharrock, 2004). Therefore, such political believers don't see their stealing as an expressly political tool, the very recognition of being a socially responsible stealer situates such behaviour within the realm of political action. With the realization that multinational corporations wield more power than governments, there has been a shift in political movements. Nonetheless, critics of this movement argue that TFS actions have no structural impact on the stores or the institutions of capitalism (Becker, 1968; Sharrock, 2004).

In addition, in the emergence of socio-economic characteristics, anthropologists also influence the development of causal explanations (see Douglas & Isherwood, 1996). Douglas and Isherwood's (1996) pioneering work describes a leading anthropologists and an economist that joined forces to suggest what market researchers have long suspected and anthropologists have observed firsthand in other cultures. They noted that people use goods as a means of communicating with each other. Food, for example, is not just a way of relieving hunger, but is also a means of communicating socially shared meanings, about time, politics, status, the quality of social encounters, relationships, and as on. And the same is true of most other goods: the clothes we wear, the homes we live in, the cars we drive, are all culturally determined means for communicating socially shared meanings about ourselves as well as others. Their research shows how the insights of anthropology can help us better understand the varied ways in which we use the "world of goods" to communicate. As the authors clearly demonstrate, without such understanding policies designed to influence demand, whether on the part of advertisers or social policy makers, are doomed to failure (refer to Douglas & Isherwood, 1996).

Therefore, an anthropologist could argue for 19th century Lombrosos' *Primitive Theory*. Followers suggest that the criminal is a throwback to a more primitive being (Gibson, 2002). The concept of the born criminal remained the center piece of Lombroso's theory, even after he added social, economic, and political conditions as factors in crime later in his career. The primary interest in Lombroso's work is not the validity of his theory, but the fact that he sparked a blitz of biological theorization about crime (Hollin, 1989). The criminals were so by nature, not nurturing. Sociologists, offended by the previous studies discussed throughout this sub-section argued that genetically and biological theories lack of attention to social, economic, and environmental factors and therefore determine to destroy their theories on methodological grounds (Hollin, 1989). Yet the discipline of anthropology explores possibilities of new ways of motivational research, for example the process of genotype and environmental interaction (see Rowe, 2002). Still, rather than viewing social class as a cause, a common approach in behavioural genetics is to consider another question, "what causes social class?" Therefore anthropological literature argues, however, that there are very clear ancient strategies still at work here (see Campbell, 2002; Kanazawa & Still, 2000).

In general a lot of young men steal and it is often associated with trying to impress others with the risks they take (see Campbell, 1995). From a sociobiologists point of view, however, you could argue that young males are trying to show who is the toughest and most daring in order to impress females with their toughness and stolen wealth, and this would ensure they get the best girl and improve the chances of passing on their genes (refer to Kanazawa & Still, 2000).

These psychobiological explanations and sociological theory, may support a hypothesis that the poor stay poor because they have not tried hard enough, and not for the reason that criminal families have criminal children because they share genes. Recent advocates argue that poverty and deprivation have nothing to do with a poor environment, poor education and economic hardship (see Buckland, 2006). The above theories assume crucial importance when applied to TFS action. Is this specific type of crime committed because the offender is a rational being, able to make the decision to offend as an act of freewill, as acknowledged from criminologist or does the crime occurs because environmental influence, such as social class, structure, cultural background, determined the act would invariably happen, as projected by sociologists? Or can psychology provide the answers of what determines such criminal activity, or else is the real clue to be found in the gene, are criminals born, not made? While criminal behaviour is seen as being caused by psychological disturbance, it is important to examine mental disorder or abnormality. Thus, the following section will examine the variety of psychological explanations which have been offered to attempt to understand the causes of TFS.

2.3.1.3 Psychology and Medicine

Psychological and medical disciplines have been concerned with causes as a 'psychiatric' and 'mental' disorder of consumption order (see Clarke *et al.*, 2003). Thus, ever since medical specialists suggesting a consequent of psychiatric disorders and psychological factors within shopping behaviour, they were found to be a major contributor for TFS (Gibbens, 1981; Russell, 1973). However, while there is disagreement about the role of mental events in determining any criminal behaviour, it is probably true to state that the majority of psychological theories acknowledge the importance of various factors in human functioning (see Hollin, 1989; Johnston & Edwards, 2002). Theories of criminal disposition can comprise from biological factors such as genetic transmission (Rowe, 2002), to psychological constructs such as personality (Eysenck, 1982), and moral development (Hollin, 1989).

This sub-section will examine the variety of psychological and medical explanations which have been offered in attempt to understand TFS and it causes. It is important, however, to note that there are a number of theories about criminal behaviour prevalent in mainstream of medicine and psychology, and these theories influence the type of research, interpretation of findings, and style of practice of any psychologist (see Hollin, 1989). Particularly, psychological literature offers particular explanations as to what causes TFS (Krasnovsky & Lane, 1998), and in the main has concentrated on significant psychological factors that are related to the discipline with medical research (see Benezech, 2000; Bridgeman & Slade, 1996; Gibbens *et al.*, 1971).

TFS offenders exhibit a broad range of motives or causes, as documented and researched by the psychological and medical discipline. Thus, the contribution of various perspectives that sought to identify potential causes of TFS were derived from existing literature, which refer to the psychopathology approach (Beck & McIntyre, 1977; Epps, 1962; Gibbens, 1981; Lamontagne *et al.*, 2000; McElroy *et al.*, 1991*b;* Meyers, 1970; Moore, 1984), to the pathophysiological theory (McElroy *et al.*, 1991*a;* Sarasalo *et al.*, 1997*a;* Yates, 1986), the psychiatric approach (Fisher, 1984; Gibbens, 1981; Gudjonsson, 1990; Russell, 1973; Tarsh, 1984), and to the psychoanalytic theory (Neustatter, 1953; Ornstein *et al.*, 1983). Additionally, behavioural theory of behavioural therapy (Gauthier & Pellerin, 1982), cognitive theory (Freedman *et al.*, 1996) and personality theory (Arboleda-Florez *et al.*, 1977; Beck & McIntyre, 1977; Gibbens, 1981; McShane *et al.*, 1991; Walsh, 1978) of individual differences (Beck & McIntyre, 1977; Goldman, 1991*a;* Hansen & Breivik, 2001) were also very much observed within psychological and medical literature. Nevertheless medical research uses a biological approach to genetics (Fraser, 2004) and clinical assessment (Kraut, 1976; Schwartz, 1994; Schwartz & Wood, 1991; Sweeney, 1999).

Initially, the psychopathology of TFS was investigated by Meyers (1970), who suggests that stealing in some way relates to the psychosexual values of the individual. He quotes that 'psychosexual values are not expressed exclusively in patterns of sexual intercourse, but rather represent a flavor of one's whole behavioral pattern' (Meyers, 1970, p. 298). Meyer's study suggests many different psychological factors that predispose toward stealing. For example, his particular explanations as to causes of TFS were out of sexual frustrations, lack of physical attention, lack of physical attractiveness, attraction to the opposite sex, and the unfulfilled sensual needs (see Meyers, 1970). Mayer's (1970) findings can also relate with Russell's (1973) and Phillips and Segal's (1969) psychiatric explanations, which add an emotional aspect to TFS. The emotional factors are operational in a large percentage as to causes of TFS, for example, unfilled emotional needs, matrimonial stress, loneliness, lack of attention as well as depression (Phillips & Segal, 1969; Russell, 1973). A common observation from the three studies mentioned earlier was found by Campbell (1981). Campbell's study also suggests that a woman (specifically single) may steal out of sexual frustration, or even out of unfulfilled sensuous needs (Campbell, 1981). Additionally, she stresses the motive of physical attractiveness, and offers a particular explanation as to stealing that a woman may steal cosmetics from a store in order to feel more attractive, or even, to compete with other women for physical attractiveness because that is mainly what they think men value. Campbell emphasises in her discussion that women perceive their body and appearance as significant factors to get their desired man, and consequently such sensitivity is taken advantage of, and is capitalised upon by the fashion and beauty manufacturers (Campbell, 1981, p. 120).

Other authors also claim that the controlling criterion for a person is often physical attractiveness and good grooming, for example appearance is of paramount importance to both male and females (Meyers, 1970; Phillips & Segal, 1969; Russell, 1973). So with so many demands on incomes that are often quite low, it is hardly surprising that 'honest' people are heavily involved in stealing from stores (Campbell, 1981, p. 131). Similarly in 2002, Cupchik explored the underlying reason that the act of theft can be understood. His book reports *why honest people shoplift or commit other acts of theft* and suggests that such behaviour is operated out of a behavioural response to subconscious or unconscious psychodynamic factors, thus 'the act of theft and/or item(s) stolen have symbolic meaning' (Cupchik, 2002, p. xxxiii). Primarily, he describes the so-called 'nonsensical' act of theft do have an underlying reason that can be understood. Indeed, these reasons frequently provide some of the most interesting and illuminating demonstrations of unconscious work of human psyche. He also explains how this type of behaviour is carried out by members of the 'moral majority' in society. Specifically he strongly supports that those 'nonsensical' acts are even perpetrated by highly successful and prominent persons in the community who have more than adequate financial resources to have easily purchased the item that were stolen (Cupchik, 2002, p. 4-5).

Accordingly, potential reasons were mainly explored for both male and females, and it was found that items were not stolen for their monetary or utilitarian value, but for their material and psychic gain. For example it may be due to a reaction to stress, because results showed that those individuals were not effectively coping with particular psychological stresses developed from economic, personal, social, family, physical, as well job stress (Arboleda-Florez *et al.*, 1977; Beck & McIntyre, 1977; Cupchik, 2002; Day *et al.*, 2000; McShane *et al.*, 1991; McShane & Noonan, 1993; Moore, 1984; Ray, 1987; Russell, 1973; Schwartz & Wood, 1991; Sommers & Baskin, 1994; Tibbetts & Herz, 1996; Walsh, 1978; Yates, 1986), after bereavement (Arboleda-Florez *et al.*, 1977; Cupchik, 2002; Cupchik & Atcheson, 1983; Fugere *et al.*, 1995; Gillen, 1989; Lamontagne *et al.*, 2000; Mazerolle & Piquero, 1998), on medication (Benezech, 2000; Cupchik, 2002; Williams & Dalby, 1986), without realizing what they did (Schwartz & Wood, 1991), due to separation or divorce with their partner, or even if their partner rejected them (Arboleda-Florez *et al.*, 1977; Campbell, 1981; Cromwell *et al.*, 1999; Cupchik, 2002; Russell, 1973), to keep up with the latest designer clothes, or because he and/or she needs the latest fashion for a night-out and therefore takes the appropriate item (Cameron, 1964; Campbell, 1981; Castiglia, 1999; Hayes, 1996; Meyers, 1970; Russell, 1973; Schwartz & Wood, 1991). An example cited by Schwartz (1991), was a 22-year-old female was convicted of petty larceny. She was not feeling pretty or sexually attractive, and in some vague, unspecified way she hoped that cosmetics (as she was caught stealing) would encourage her husband's affection and attention.

Overall, the underlying motive as of studies mentioned earlier, describe that a person may steal from a store because they want to appear wealthier in front of the 'opposite sex', by which either to *impress* or please their partner or loved ones (family member) with what they currently own, or to become more noticeable because others tends to ignore them. the particular explanations given above by various psychological studies tend to focus on stressful individual situations where a person may steal. Explanations given by the cited studies throughout this sub-section were to a large extent directed to females, but note that women constitute mainly a large proportion of an even larger number of studies considered sample.

Research that has shown a higher rate of female offenders includes those subjects who have been referred for psychological assessment or treatment (Arboleda-Florez *et al.*, 1977; Buckle & Farrington, 1994; Campbell, 1995; Cupchik & Atcheson, 1983; Day *et al.*, 2000; Gauthier & Pellerin, 1982; Kallis & Vanier Dinoo, 1985; Kelley *et al.*, 2003; Lamontagne *et al.*, 2000; Moore, 1984; Ray *et al.*, 1983; Yates, 1986). Findings from those studies suggest that the female offenders were women that needed medical help. Thus, Phillips and Segal support that women are more expressive and prepared to talk about their physical and mental illness than men (Phillips & Segal, 1969)

Possibly Cupchik's psychological assumption that TFS has a symbolic meaning was driven by Rouke's (1957) psychological study on *Shoplifting: Its Symbolic Motivation* (Rouke, 1957). Rouke investigated emotional factors, and suggested that the emotional case is an unconscious pattern called motivational aspects of an individual. The basic motivation of an individual fell into four categories. Rouke claims that the primary motivations of the offender were:

a) Stealing as a symbolic sexual gratification,
b) Stealing as a means of gaining statues or acceptance,
c) Stealing as a means of satisfying an unconscious need for humiliation or punishment,
d) Stealing as a means of gaining revenge against the parent by bringing disgrace upon the family name (Rouke, 1957, p. 55).

Similar studies support the view that individuals had stolen to gain status, acceptance and make an impression among friends, partners and family members. For example a person may consider their status more important and not the unlawful act, may want to be accepted by friends who take items, and therefore demonstrates to them that they can also take an item. They may believe the item they stole will help them to make a deeper impression on their friends, or may even does not want to give the impression to others she is not wealthy enough to buy anything she wants, and therefore she takes the appropriate item (Cameron, 1964; Castiglia, 1999; Cox *et al.*, 1993; Gibbens & Prince, 1962; Guéguen, 2003; Robin, 1963; Schwartz & Wood, 1991).

Cupchik's study also mentions the persons' 'parent' as a reason for someone to steal, this means if either parents cannot afford an item they will steal it for their child's well being, or even because they want to appear to be a more loving parent to their peers (Cupchik, 2002). Other studies also support that parents want to keep their child happy (Moore, 1984; Rouke, 1957; Schwartz & Wood, 1991), or even want to impress their child (Cupchik, 2002; Kelley *et al.*, 2003; Russell, 1973; Schwartz & Wood, 1991).

Seeking attention was sought as an underlying motive or cause for potential individuals to steal from a store from various studies (Campbell, 1981; Castiglia, 1999; Cox *et al.*, 1993; Cox *et al.*, 1990; Elquist, 2000; Hansen & Breivik, 2001; Moschis *et al.*, 1987)(Meyers, 1970; Phillips & Segal, 1969; Russell, 1973; Schwartz & Wood, 1991). The results of a study that examined the relationship between seeking attention and risk-taking behaviour indicated a strong relationship between sensations seeking and TFS behaviour (Hansen & Breivik, 2001). Overall, the symbolic motivation of the TFS act, in the opinion of this study, is that at the time when the opportunity presented itself, the unconscious pattern of the individual will be there for someone or anyone to steal from a store.

Thus, the individual offender had become the important subject of study, some of them being referred for psychiatric assessment because of the possibility that psychiatric disability has played a role in the commission of TFS. It is quite possible, however, that people are motivated by psychological mechanisms that compel them to steal in order to gain something, which might be status, mate, acceptance and so on. An influential study of individual offenders which were referred for psychiatric assessment, was conducted by Arboleda-Florez and his colleges in 1977. They also engaged in TFS as a response to stressful personal situations or as a result of serious psychiatric disorders. For example, their study compiled of 32 store offenders referred for psychiatric assessment, suggested three patterns of TFS. Those labeled as "snitches" comprised about half of their sample, and tended to be young, single, of both sex, and most often reported a poor work history, and financial hardship.

Yet, the category "unusual" included those whose aberrant behaviour was found to be apparently motivated by neither need nor desire but rather seen as an overt act reflecting the interpersonal difficulties of middle-aged, married females. Interestingly, they found that one of the females studied had a relationship between menstruation and shoplifting. Both were associated with a feeling of depression because of inability to bear children. Furthermore as supported by Rouke's finding, both studies associate that a parent may steal because they are trying to hide the family's lack of money (Arboleda-Florez *et al.*, 1977; Rouke, 1957). For instance, a stressful interpersonal situation extricates them from the stressful 'circumstance'.

As Ornstein's study support that TFS is functioning as a crisis or contingency measure of revenge and self-restitution (Ornstein *et al.*, 1983) it is interesting, in view of discussion on personal crises, to note Cupchik and Atcheson's argument that the most first time and infrequent offender steals to compensate for a recent loss in their lives (for example, death, loss of relationship, to loss of health, or valued aspects of loved one's life.), which acts as an unforeseen event. Moreover, the remainder of Arboleda-Florez et al's sample was "psychotic" with accompanying delusional tendencies present at the time of conducting the offence. Therefore as stated also earlier in previous studies, particular explanations as to causes of TFS can be after bereavement, due to separation or divorce, or even a reaction to stress factors of a significant loss (Arboleda-Florez *et al.*, 1977; Cupchik & Atcheson, 1983; Fugere *et al.*, 1995; Gillen, 1989).

In similar fashion to Arboleda-Florez's study, Moor (1984), derived five groups based in frequency, precipitating, attitudinal, and other factors pertaining to the offence, describing them in terms of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorder* (APA, 1994). The author determined that the most acts of TFS were committed by those predisposed to conducting themselves in a manner congruent with behaviour associated with antisocial personality type disorders. "Amateurs" were found to exhibit delinquent or rebellious behaviours, and to steal for financial gain or profit. TFS for "occasional" and "semi-professional" offenders was considered to be chronic behaviour that appeared to provide an emotional outlet for daily frustration or boredom.

Therefore, rather than expression of a character deficit, TFS in the "impulse" and "episodic" group was regarded as resultant behaviour due to the precipitating influence of psychosocial stressors (Moore, 1984). Interesting, they found that most respondents (college offenders) did not considered the negative consequences of stealing because they did not expect to be caught or, if caught, did not expect to be prosecuted (Moore, 1983). Additionally, Moore concludes based on his study's findings that "like other offenders, college students experience psychological satisfaction from acquiring personality attractive goods and save money for other purposes (Moore, 1983, p. 1116). Other similar studies also support this reason for TFS behaviour (Kallis & Vanier Dinoo, 1985; Klemke, 1982).

A later study by McShane and Noonan (1993) corroborated both Arboleda-Florez et al's (1977) and Moore's (1984) speculations by concluding that subtypes of offenders probably exist, and developed a typology of offenders using data on demographic characteristics, past history, psychological stressors, and purpose in life, which had been collected for an earlier study by them (McShane *et al.*, 1991).

Importantly, McShane and Noonans' (1993) findings not only support the idea that TFS is more than resultant behaviour of economic disadvantage but demonstrate that the offenders can be classified into four groups. McShane and Noonans research suggest that psychological stressors provide a useful basis for classifying potential offenders, and of particular interest (and support) is the role that stress evidently plays in differentiating offender's heterogeneity. They propose that any successful treatment for delinquents should include guidance and assistance in order to explore new values that can fulfill offender's identity needs within our existing social milieu, and a new perception of the relationship of their life experiences and this meaning (McShane & Noonan, 1993).

Other or similar psychological and psychiatric explanations as to causes of TFS are common and include uncertain self-concepts, self-esteem (Cupchik & Atcheson, 1983; Day *et al.*, 2000; Fugere *et al.*, 1995; Schlueter *et al.*, 1989; Walsh, 1978), or worth (Caputo, 1998, 2004; Ray *et al.*, 1983), anxiety (Cautela, 1967; Gauthier & Pellerin, 1982; Guidry, 1975) and depression (Bradford & Balmaceda, 1983; Edwards & Roundtree, 1982; Fishbain, 1987, 1994; Freedman *et al.*, 1996; Gudjonsson, 1987, 1988, 1990; Heath & Kosky, 1992; Lamontagne *et al.*, 2000; Moore, 1984; Ordway, 1962; Ray *et al.*, 1983; Russell, 1973; Sarasalo *et al.*, 1997*a*). A psychiatric syndrome was the most frequently found psychological problem in research, in addition with studies claiming that women are more likely to steal when depressed than men (Campbell, 1981; Epps, 1962; Freedman *et al.*, 1996; Fugere *et al.*, 1995; Gibbens, 1962, 1981; McElroy *et al.*, 1991*a;* Russell, 1973; Russell, 1978). This may be as based on other studies that claim that women may be more motivated to steal because research found females stole more because they had suffer from postnatal depression, or menopause (Epps, 1962; Gibbens, 1962; McElroy *et al.*, 1991a; Russell, 1973; Russell, 1978).

Other psychological and emotional causes of TFS points to simple greed reactions with relation to personal situations, as well as social conditions (Campbell, 1981; Cox *et al.*, 1990; Griffin, 1989). For example, avoiding embarrassment caused by purchasing an item (Cameron, 1964; Cox *et al.*, 1990; Hayes, 1997; Mitchell *et al.*, 1992), seeking the thrill of theft (Adler, 2002; Cao & Deng, 1998; Castiglia, 1999; Hansen & Breivik, 2001; Kallis & Vanier Dinoo, 1985; Lo, 1994; Sarasalo *et al.*, 1997*a*), the 'game-like' or 'sporting' motive of excitement and fun (Cameron, 1964; Kallis & Vanier Dinoo, 1985; Mapes, 1968; Walsh, 1978), and the impulsivity of not knowing why they did it (Arboleda-Florez *et al.*, 1977; Sarasalo *et al.*, 1997*a;* Schwartz & Wood, 1991).

Other studies found significant causes to TFS of the additions of alcoholism and drug abuse (Bennett, 2000; Best *et al.*, 2001; Carcach & Makkai, 2002; Davies & Willans, 2003; Gossop *et al.*, 2000; Hart, 2003; James Carolin Jr, 1992; Johnson *et al.*, 1985; Kowalski & Faupel, 1990; Lamontagne *et al.*, 1994; Schneider, 2003; Schwartz & Wood, 1991; Sutter, 1969; Van Kammen & Loeber, 1994) which recently, the links between heroin, crack cocaine and TFS have been strongly demonstrated (see Allen, 2005, for suggestions). In the view of these studies, they confirm that more that half the people caught from stores stealing for the first time have already developed a TFS habit or even an addiction. Many admit that it will be hard for them to stop, even after getting caught.

A person's addition to TFS can develop quickly when the thrill generated from "getting away with it" produces a chemical reaction (i.e. adrenaline, etc.) resulting in what offenders describe as an incredible "rush", "high" or "buzz" feeling, which many of them tell you is the "true reward" rather than the item itself. In addition to feeling good, offenders quickly observe this "high" temporarily eliminates their feelings of anger, frustration and vengeance (Mazerolle & Piquero, 1998; Sarasalo & Bergman, 1997*b;* Sarasalo *et al.*, 1997*a*) or other unhappiness in their life. Realizing how easy it is to get that "high" feeling, they are pulled toward doing it again, and their addiction begins to develop. Even though most non-professional offenders feel guilty, ashamed, remorseful or even fearful of getting caught, the pull is too strong for many to resist. People differ in numerous psychological as well as physical traits. Any individual difference in a measurable trait is 'grist for the mill of behavioural genetic study' (Rowe, 2002, p. 7). While genetic factors within criminal behaviour have been implicated in some types of mental illnesses, such as schizophrenia, bipolar disorder and depression (Rowe, 2002), mental health problems and disorders can be due to an interaction between biological factors and adverse psychosocial experiences (Hollin, 1989). Hollin reviews that some people may have a genetic vulnerability to certain disorders, but these disorders will not develop without the interaction of the genes.

A number of risk factors have been associated with a higher likelihood of developing a mental disorder, but this does not mean that these factors cause mental illness, or that everyone who is exposed to them will develop a mental disorder. In many cases, studies found that a person may steal out of some sort of a mental illness (Arboleda-Florez *et al.*, 1977; Cameron, 1964; Castiglia, 1999; Epps, 1962; Freedman *et al.*, 1996; Gauthier & Pellerin, 1982; Gibbens, 1962, 1981; Gibbens *et al.*, 1971; Heath & Kosky, 1992; Krahn *et al.*, 1991; Lamontagne *et al.*, 2000; Lamontagne *et al.*, 1994; Mitchell *et al.*, 1992; Moore, 1984; Neustatter, 1953; Sarasalo & Bergman, 1997*b;* Sarasalo *et al.*, 1997*a;* Weisz *et al.*, 2002), which was perceived as a prime cause for a large number of studies.

Evidence also suggest that TFS can be inheritable (Castiglia, 1999; Cupchik, 2002; Klemke, 1982), and also studies of psychiatric disorders specify the motive of eating disorders. For example, anorexia nervosa and bulimia nervosa have emerged as the predominant eating disorders, and research found correlations between TFS and eating disorders (Brener, 1993; Bridgeman & Slade, 1996; Crisp *et al.*, 1980; Fullerton *et al.*, 1995; Goldner *et al.*, 2000; Johnson & Connors, 1987; Johnson *et al.*, 1985; Kraut, 1976; Mitchell *et al.*, 1992; Moore, 1984; Pyle *et al.*, 1981). Relationships were also found between amnesia (Gudjonsson *et al.*, 1999), and links between burglary (for example, see Schneider, 2003; for example, see Schneider, 2005*b*). Recent research explains how thieves make decisions when stealing (for example, see Bennett, 2000) against how stolen-goods markets operate (Schneider, 2005*a;* Sutton *et al.*, 2001). Schneider (2005) suggests that attention must turn to in understanding the relationship between various social aberrant behaviour and TFS when devising intervention strategies (Schneider, 2005*a*).

TFS linkages have between also demonstrated between personality disorder and kleptomania (Abelson, 1989*b;* Benezech, 2000; Cupchik, 1992; Fishbain, 1987, 1994; Fullerton & Punj, 2004*b;* Goldman, 1991*a*, 1991*b*, 1992; McElroy *et al.*, 1991*a*, 1991*b;* McNeilly & Burke, 1998; Sarasalo & Bergman, 1997*b;* Sarasalo *et al.*, 1996*a*, 1996*b*, 1997*a*). Other researchers have discusses whether the way certain people deal with stresses in life may effect TFS (Beck & McIntyre, 1977; McShane *et al.*, 1991; Walsh, 1978). Beck and McIntyre (1977) found that TFS demonstrate poor coping skills, and McShane et al (1991) suggest that TFS is the result of these individuals not effectively coping with stresses. Thus there are reasons for linking Eysenck's Theory of personality and individual differences within the study of TFS (see Beck & McIntyre, 1977; Goldman, 1991*a*, 1992; Hansen & Breivik, 2001). Other studies concluded that personality is an important predictor of TFS behaviour (Arboleda-Florez *et al.*, 1977; Beck & McIntyre, 1977; Gibbens, 1981).

A study was conducted by Benezech (2000) identifying and explaining the psychosocial and medical aspects of pathological stealing as an original case of kleptomania (Benezech, 2000). However, other research indicates that only a small minority of offenders are likely to be suffering from psychological or psychiatric disorder (see Cameron, 1964; Gudjonsson, 1990). Thus, medical TFS research is studied by biological perspectives, from genetics (Fraser, 2004) to clinical assessment (Schwartz, 1994; Schwartz & Wood, 1991; Sweeney, 1999). Given the close relationship which has always existed between psychology and biology, the starting point is those psychobiological factors which have emphasised the primary biological factors in explaining crime (see Hollin, 1989).

Psychobiological theorization about crime focuses more or less around Lombroso's (1896) famous 19th century theory (see Rowe, 2002), held that criminality was genetically determined, so crime nevertheless had it roots in the genes. With emphasis on genetics forces rather that free will, as differentiated by most modern criminologists, discussed earlier in this chapter (Hollin, 1989, p. 23). In brief, Lombrodso argued that criminals were the product of a genetic constitution unlike that found in the non-criminal population. Lombroso found that certain physical features identified prisoners as "born criminals", thus the bodily constitution of the born criminal causes him/her to violate the law.

Lombroso theorized that born criminals were an "atavism", or a genetic throwback to earlier stages of human development. The born criminal possessed the same physical, metal and instinctual makeup as primitive man, and was easily identified by certain physical characteristics known as "stigmata" (for a detail review of asymmetries of the face and heads, see Hollin, 1989). Criminals were so by nature, not nurturing. As discussed earlier sociologists, offended by the previous authors lack of attention to social, economic, and environmental factors successfully destroyed biological theory on methodological grounds. Therefore Lombrosian-type proposals about criminal atavism, new theories have been built on several refinements in sociobiology theory that have occurs over the past quarter of a century (Ellis, 1998*a*, p. 63). Lombrosian ideas extended their views even wider with the suggestion that environmental conditions such as poor education could also be numbered among the causes of crime (Hollin, 1989). More recent research has continued to confirm the importance of genetics and environment influences (see Ehrlich & Feldman, 2003; Flinn, 1997; Segal & Macdonald, 1998).

> *'Crime does not have one specific cause in the brain.'*
>
> (Hollin, 1989, p. 10)

While, the biological approach was also established to investigate crime (refer to Rowe, 2002), there is a tendency for behavioural genetics and sociobiologists to look at general crime in society as a whole instead of looking at particular crimes. Therefore, studies investigated particular criminal and antisocial behaviour (Adler, 2003; Campbell, 1995; Eysenck, 1990, 1991; Gibson, 2002; Hentig, 1948; Rowe, 2002). Yet, a very small amount of research was found to particularly explain crimes of sexual violence (Daly & Wilson, 1988), female aggression (see Campbell, 1995, 1999) and lately property crimes (see Campbell *et al.*, 2001; Kanazawa & Still, 2000) in our modern society, but no research to data into TFS crimes in particular.

Psychology is the study of people, and there is a branch of psychology concerned with TFS issues. Principally, psychological and medical researchers study individual qualities (such as perceptions, attitudes, thinking, personality etc), and some TFS researchers have studied those human qualities in particular ways. In psychology, a useful distinction may be drawn between discipline and applied fields ranging from cultural psychology (Triandis, 1995; Triandis *et al.*, 1998), social psychology (Bickman & Green, 1977; Campbell, 1981; Ray, 1987; Ray & Briar, 1988; Schwartz & Wood, 1991; Stone, 1954; Sweeney, 1999; Weaver & Carroll, 1985), criminal (or forensic) psychology (Arboleda-Florez *et al.*, 1977; Deng, 1997; McShane & Noonan, 1993; Schlueter *et al.*, 1989; Yates, 1986), cognitive (Giordano *et al.*, 2002) and clinical psychology (Ray *et al.*, 1983; Solomon & Ray, 1984), to legal psychology (Blankenburg, 1976; Bridgeman & Slade, 1996; Bundren, 1995; Gibbens, 1962; Sarasalo & Bergman, 1997*b*).

However, whether from a psychological or medical perspective, those potential offenders perceive TFS as a form of self-nourishment or as a way to relieve *fear* or *pain* in their life. In truth, TFS is self-destructive and not self-nourishing, but offenders often see the paradox. For almost all non-professional offenders, stealing from stores is basically a reflection of a person's ability (or inability) to cope with a multitude of situations in his or her life. It's their response to their own personal stress and physical life situations. It is interesting, in view of a few studies (McShane *et al.*, 1991; Moore, 1984; Ray, 1987; Ray & Briar, 1988) to note their argument that emotional and personal stress are combined with economic problems. While these unhappy life situations may not easily be changed (or may repeat themselves from time to time) offenders must learn how to cope with these situations in a way that's not so harmful to themselves or others. Nevertheless, even if we try to control those economic and personal life stresses situations it is impossible to control *societal* and *opportunity*, the other two major factors that may be sufficient for TFS behaviour to occur (see Ray, 1987; Ray & Briar, 1988).

Therefore, we may come the conclusion that the 'economically disadvantaged female' been challenged by some past studies (Edwards & Roundtree, 1982; Ray, 1987). For example, contrary to expectations, Ray (1987) found that TFS 'appears to be working to middle-class phenomenon' (p. 31), with a growing number of offenders coming from upper-income households (Sharrock, 2004). Although there is evidence for the relationship between the causes of TFS and a number of psychological variables, not all researchers see TFS as a psychological or psychiatric problem of preventing future offending. For example, Moore found that among most college students, mental/emotional problems did not appear to be a significant contributor to TFS behaviour.

Moore questioned the idea that TFS and mental/emotional problems are linked, and regarded the link as tenuous. He claimed that people who steal from stores are *not* delinquent or criminal personalities, nor psychopaths or having psychopathic tendencies (Moore, 1983; Moore, 1984). Thus, TFS has sometimes been viewed as a way for women to act out repressed sexual desires, starting in the early eighteenth century with its definition as a form of hysteria and continuing through the twentieth century as an explanation for the high rate of single, divorced and widowed women who stole (Sharrock, 2004). Yet, psychological and medical research does lead to a greater understanding of the offender, since increased understanding will lead to more effective strategies for preventing TFS. This study acknowledges viewpoints of historians and geographers as to TFS and its potential causes. The aim in the following sub-section is to introduce the range of historical and geographical approaches to the understanding of TFS.

2.3.1.4 History and Geography

In this last sub-section, this chapter aims to offer an outline of the main TFS related concerns of historians and geographers, and it also links to other disciplinary work. Literature within fields of consumer behaviour, retail geography and history attests to the varying ways consumers use retail space not only for legitimate act of consumption but also for *illegal* forms of shopping behaviour (Phillips *et al.*, 2005, p. 66). In one way or another, both retail history and geography are fundamentally concerned with *context* (see Clarke *et al.*, 2003). Yet, at the same time, it has been recognised that the place of the consumer within retail space as 'contexts' were being abused by other illegitimate consumers. The misbehaving consumer often performs such behaviour in the same space as a honest consumer (Fullerton & Punj, 1997*a;* Fullerton & Punj, 1997*b;* Fullerton & Punj, 1997*c;* Tonglet, 2001), thus in-store theft is no exception (Fullerton & Punj, 2004*a*). As one study has suggested,

> '...shoplifters and shoppers are involved in conceptually similar decision-making process. They both make decisions concerning which store they are to patronize..., albeit with different priorities.'
>
> (Nelson *et al.*, 1996, p. 411)

Indeed, shoppers misbehaving has varied greatly from one historical period to another, and still differs clearly from place to place (Fullerton & Punj, 1997*b*). This study suggests that it is perhaps the single most important factor to bear in mind when considering the histories and geographies of TFS. Additionally, TFS has become a significant focus of investigation in historical studies only relatively recently (see Fredriksson, 1997; Fullerton & Punj, 1997*b;* see Fullerton & Punj, 2004*b;* Mora, 1998; Phillips *et al.*, 2005; Segrave, 2001).

Nonetheless, the key books to bring contextually TFS centre-stage was Abelson (1989) *When Ladies Go A-Thieving*, which examined middle class shoplifters in the Victorian department store, and Pinch's (1998) *Stealing Happiness*, which explored TFS in early 19th century England. Both identified a 'consumer revolution' in eighteen-century England, prior to the 'industrial revolution' of the 19th century (see Abelson, 1989*a;* Pinch, 1998). Unlike social theorists who view industrial capitalism as a resolute march toward modernity, Abelson and Pinch offers a far more sophisticated and complex interpretation on consumer culture and social control, contained by consumer capitalism.

Yet, other writers push back the origins of TFS even further into the 16th and 17th centuries (see Gibbens & Prince, 1962; and Walsh, 1978, for an excellent review of the development of stores, changes and trends over time). For example, it was assumed that as soon as the self-service movement began in the 1950's, TFS become a principal retail problem (Durston, 1996; Walsh, 1978). However, only within the late 19th century researchers thrived with such principle crime to explore and study (Adler, 2002), and thus drove their concern and attention into the 20th century.

Most work on historical interpretations of TFS have, to a large extent, is centred firmly on the early-modern period, which undoubtedly witnessed a dramatic social and economic change to its significance (see Adler, 2002; Cohen & Felson, 1979; Fredriksson, 1997; Griffin, 1989; Nelson & Perrone, 2000; Phillips *et al.*, 2005; Schwartz, 2003). For instance, Nelson and Perrone (2000, p. 1) refers to changes in the growth of consumerism and "shopping" as a pastime, others (see Durston, 1996; Griffin, 1989) refer to changes in our materialistic society as marking a consumer revolution, and with further studies (Phillips *et al.*, 2005; Schwartz, 2003) even suggest the irresistible cult of consumption created by the stores (see Bark, 2002).

One can identify any number of turning points in the history of consumption related to TFS, most of which relate to other significant changes in social arrangements (Griffin, 1989). perfecta key example is the self-service movement as mentioned above which began in the 1950's (Durston, 1996; Walsh, 1978), making vast amount of merchandise completely available to the buying public and presenting that merchandise with as few restraints as possible (D'Alto, 1992). By doing this, the potential customer can examine and touch the item, thereby increasing his or her desire to acquire it (see Griffin, 1989). Importantly, Griffin (1989) strongly supports that while it is relatively easy to convince the customer that he or she should have the item, convincing the large number of people with low temptation thresholds to pay for what they take is another mater.

Griffin stressed an important issues earlier, so in this light a cultural historian Lisa Tiersten says that today's,

> 'Consumer culture manipulates the senses of the shoppers, seduces them, weakening their ability to resist temptation.'
>
> (cited in Adler, 2002, p. 52)

Thus, research highlights that our modern consumer society was brought about a number of intersecting and overlapping changes, and as Campbell (1981) suggests, ranging from social pressures and temptations, to industrial pressures of competitiveness with the store inviting customers to touch, smell, feel and wear goods (Campbell, 1981). It is interesting, in the view of this discussion of socio-cultural and industrial change, to note Campbell's and Griffin's argument that when such social arrangements are weighed up it is remarkable that *not* everybody living in a consumer-oriented culture steals.

The establishment of new TFS patterns as a problem was noted by historians (see Falk & Campbell, 1997; Phillips *et al.*, 2005). For example, past research did suggest that *luxury* items are the social preserve of a elite society and ultimately creates social pressures (Cameron, 1964; Campbell, 1981). Cameron (1964) reported that TFS was primarily aimed at luxury goods and not items generally considered as necessities. In particular, she found that store security personnel frequently report more TFS losses of *luxury* items. It is interesting in this view, to note Cameron's argument of luxury items, in relation with Campbell's (1981) calculation and claims of the increase levels of stealing higher value goods. Particularly those past trends can be supported by latest statistics that establishes a current alarming pattern of an increase on value per item stolen (refer to BRC, 2004, figures).

A retail manager once expressed his worry about a new trend that is emerging within the industrial community, that they 'have more people shoplifting luxury items now than ever before' (cited in Lin *et al.*, 1994, p. 27). Specifically, historical accounts are only now appearing in specialist studies of luxury goods – Berg and Clifford *"Consumers and Luxury"* The making of that consumer culture not as private vice but as a public sociability and as economic benefit was debated by researchers. Luxury was in a sense deconstructed (Berg & Clifford, 1999). Berg and Clifford in 1999 comment that from tulips to jewels, gastronomy to silver, coffee to colours, that late 17th, and the 18th centuries saw an explosion of consumer and luxury objects and a growing demand for their consumption by a widening section of the population (a further discussion will be mentioned in the final chapter – Chapter Five – in today's modernised consumerism and luxuries).

Therefore, while historical record is extremely variable in terms of what is known about the past and current patterns of TFS (refer to Murphy, 1986, for an excellent review), the evidence provided by various accounts represent one of the prime historical sources (see Herbert & Hyde, 1985; see Nelson *et al.*, 1996; Thomas & Farrell, 1982), that set an increase of interest against the background literature in the history of TFS. Thus, it begun to create attention in the late 1990's which gave a fresh impetus through the publication of a number of studies on TFS (Chapter Five demonstrates such trend graphically). However, we should not lose sight of the fact that TFS has always been an important aspect of society, and thus to historical literary development (see Cameron, 1964; see Gibbens & Prince, 1962; Robin, 1963; Walsh, 1978). TFS has historically been regarded within literature as a crime which is predominantly engaged in by women (Schwartz, 2003). Therefore, this sub-section will reveal that considerable attention in historical perspectives of TFS was concentrated to discover the central cause of such behaviour.

As some historians observed, TFS was frequently considered to be a symptom of females, while others suggested it is a product of youths and/or middle aged people. Thus factors of human nature were considered by historians to be the main driver of such behaviour (Phillips *et al.*, 2005). Clearly, in an early discussion, this chapter reviewed many studies estimating that the majority of TFS offenders were female. Debates, however, were also cited to indicate that males engage in greater numbers than females. History and geography has demonstrated the importance of the temporal and spatial context of what causes TFS. For example, a focus on where and when TFS occur, each with a particular explanation as to causes of TFS and the best way to combat the problem. Research has examined the broad spatial and temporal patterns of TFS (see Herbert & Hyde, 1985; Lawrence, 2004*b;* Nelson *et al.*, 1996; Nelson & Perrone, 2000; Phillips *et al.*, 2005; Thomas & Farrell, 1982), which emerged in the perspective of explanatory concepts derived from an emerging new literature in environmental criminology (Nelson *et al.*, 1996). Nelson's (1996), with environmental criminology as a means of understanding why a specific event occurs at a particular time. Thus, historical and geographical literature is utilised by various disciplines such as environmental criminology (see Herbert & Hyde, 1985), environmental psychology (see Lo, 1994; Weaver & Carroll, 1985) as well as principle disciplines (discussed earlier).

The environmental criminologists perspective is 'directed primarily on the offence rather than the offender' (Herbert & Thomas, 1990, p. 320), and 'characteristics of place are regarded as central to understanding why a specific event occurs at a particular time' (Herbert & Hyde, 1985, p. 260). However, environmental psychology attention is directed at both offence and offender, and psychological models are used to understand human-environment interactions (Lo, 1994) along with aspects of social settings in which the crime occurs (Weaver & Carroll, 1985).

Nelson notes that 'environmental criminology displays some overlap with concerns of environmental psychology' (Nelson *et al.*, 1996, p. 411), and there is an extensive literature linking back to the psychological motivations for criminal activity mentioned earlier. Other concerns cut across those disciplinary engagements, particularly with regard changes to policies (see Curtin *et al.*, 2001; Ekblom, 1986; Roberts, 2002; Ruiz & Miguel, 2005), politics (Herbert & Thomas, 1990; Pease, 1994) and ethics (see Freestone & Mitchell, 2004; Mitchell & Ka Lun Chan, 2002; Muncy & Vitell, 1992; Strutton *et al.*, 1997; Vitell *et al.*, 1991). Significantly, Elkblom (1986) claimed that TFS itself became the site of a potentially radical movement for a time in the nineteenth century. Since, once the theft patterns are identifies and analysed, they can be interpreted by drawing on a wider range of information, and the appropriate policy measures pursued (see Curtin *et al.*, 2001; Ekblom, 1986).

One of the significant changes brought about by the historical and geographical study of TFS was the acknowledgment of specific place and spaces geared towards the promotion of consumption and the temptation of the consumer (Nelson *et al.*, 1996; Phillips *et al.*, 2005). While one might imagine that this is where geographers have focused their attention, it was, in fact, historians who initially devoted most attention to such spaces (Abelson, 2003). The principal example is the nineteenth century department store (Abelson, 1989*a;* Pinch, 1998). Nonetheless, nowadays retailers certainly encapsulate many of the most important aspects of consumer culture to understand why TFS occurs at a particular place and space (Nelson *et al.*, 1996; Phillips *et al.*, 2005). Levi (2001) points out that the consumer society has had a more general influence on space as a whole. The entire urban environment has been affected and the city has become a prime focus of TFS (see Levi, 2001; Nelson *et al.*, 1996). Geographers have come to consider modern space of consumption in such terms, and have certainly been involved in research into TFS over a period of time (Carroll & Weaver, 1986; Lo, 1994; Nelson *et al.*, 1996; Walsh, 1978; Weaver & Carroll, 1985). Studies have included a focus on the kinds of store and circumstances which provoke the greatest vulnerability for stealing and the temporal dimension of its incidents.

Walsh (1978), for example, found that TFS was most common in self service shops, but that there was no association between incidence rates and store size or type. Additionally, Walsh's study recorded an increase in incidents during the pre-Easter and pre-Christmas periods, probably reflecting the enhanced opportunities presented by the reduced likelihood of detection associated with the high levels of shopping activity of holiday season shopping. Similarly, higher densities of shoppers also probably explain TFS peaks identified on Friday and Saturday, during afternoons. This temporal pattern was confirmed both by the retailers and by the official statistics reported by Walsh (1978).

Such work presented by Walsh (1978) is concerned with comparable aspects of the settings and situations in which crimes occur. However, the decision as to whether or not to steal an item has been investigated using verbal protocol analysis with TFS offenders in a number of stores (see Carroll & Weaver, 1986; see Weaver & Carroll, 1985). Weaver and Carroll explain that the main reasons for someone to steal and item are in the conceptually similar terms of "object, place and time" opportunities. They suggest that the decision-making of a prospective offender relies on the characteristics of the "item" under consideration for stealing and should be relatively small, easily accessible, and significant value to merit the risk of detection (Weaver & Carroll, 1985). For example, they found that high rationality was when stores stocking "takeable" goods were most at risk. Similar studies support such findings and suggest that woman takes a small and lower value item because it lowers her fears of getting detected (see Davis *et al.*, 1991; Robin, 1963).

This was balanced against a range of 'deterrents' primarily the existence of security devices, the possibility of being observed, and the presence of store personnel. In fact studies support that a person may takes an item because there is no security officer close by to see him or her (Farrington *et al.*, 1994; Farrington & Burrows, 1993; Guffey *et al.*, 1979; Hart, 2003; James Carolin Jr, 1992), or even that a woman may take an item because she is better at spotting the CCTV security cameras and avoids them being focused towards her (Guffey *et al.*, 1979; James Carolin Jr, 1992), as well as finding such as claiming that a man takes an item because he believes he can escape from the store before the CCTV security system alerts security staff (Campbell, 1981; Guffey *et al.*, 1979; Kallis & Vanier Dinoo, 1985). In 1994 Lo, studied potential teenage TFS offenders, and building on the concepts of Carroll and Weaver (1986). He suggested that offenders and non offenders are involved in conceptually similar decision-making process has also suggested that offenders are considers that large department stores as the most common location for people to steal, particularly those in the shopping malls which had the greatest appeal to teenagers as popular gathering points. Thus, to understand the behaviour of TFS offenders, Lo (1994) produced a "choice and constraint" decision-making framework.

As noted earlier, choice reflected "objects, place, and time opportunity", while constraints included factors such as the physical layout of the store, the presence of store staff, and risk of arrest, along with the *contextual* social, economic and psychological background of those who stole an item from a store. The exploratory significance of the nature of 'opportunity' related with a limited likelihood of 'arrest' is, thus, a frequent theme throughout various studies concerned with TFS. As, the physical layout of stores makes it easer for a possible offender to find the necessary momentary privacy to conceal the item to be stolen (Griffin, 1989).

In addition, a large number of studies suggest that a person may take an item from a store because the general layout of the store allows them to take it (Arboleda-Florez *et al.*, 1977; Campbell, 1981; Farrington *et al.*, 1994; Farrington & Burrows, 1993; French *et al.*, 1984; Lo, 1994; Nelson *et al.*, 1996), with other studies suggestive of taking an item because they are irritated with the shop assistant (Elquist, 2000; Farrington *et al.*, 1994; Lin *et al.*, 1994; Lo, 1994; Weaver & Carroll, 1985).

It is interesting to view the link between TFS and customer service within a business. In 1992, Dotson and Patton's stress the importance of awareness that stores are experiencing difficult times, thus their study dealt with investigating consumer perceptions of department store services, and offers one possible solution 'a return to a service orientation', in order for management to implement successful strategies (Dotson & Patton, 1992, p. 15). Similarly, Lin *et al.* (1994) dealt with exploring manager's perception (detail of Lin's study will be discuses in the next section), and resulted that customer service is the best way to prevent customers from stealing. A manager quotes, 'customer service is the best defence for shoplifting' (p. 27), since, managers expressed the concern about using traditional devices to combat TFS. They believed such devices tend to increase the environmental hostility within store and are an expensive way to provide a false sense of security (Lin *et al.*, 1994).

Lo has stated that a related knowledge of the spatial behaviour of offenders is limited. Perhaps in response to Lo's (1994) claims of further knowledge Nelson et, al (1996) examined the broad spatial and temporal pattern of TFS in the city centre of Cardiff, and revealed major geographical characteristics of TFS. For example they found that the spatial pattern of TFS is influenced by mainly three reasons. First by the store type, second by the store location in the busiest areas of the city centre, and finally a direct route from store to the open-street was more attractive to the potential offender rather than enclosed malls, due to the greater opportunity to escape (Nelson *et al.*, 1996). Moreover, high levels of TFS activity suggested towards the end of the week and in the late morning and throughout the afternoon. Similarly, to Walsh (1978) findings, Nelson *et al.*, also recorded an increase in incidents during the pre-Easter and pre-Christmas periods, as well as, pre-summer holidays.

Similar to Nelson's and Walsh's studies, research by Yan Yee (2004) found a significant increase in store theft in the winter months and decreased levels in the summer months. He argued that the possible cause for this is that more offenders probably attempt to use heavier winter clothing to cover their theft. Therefore, he claims that 'this can imply that effects of the season may affect the winter way the offender execute crime (Yan Yee, 2004, p. 281).

As the discipline of geography has become more closely related to other disciplines theory, however, a better appreciation of the wider significance of TFS has emerged (Lo, 1994; Nelson & Perrone, 2000; Yan Yee, 2004). Even Lo's earlier study included the "contextual" decision-making of social, economic and psychological background of the potential offender. Additionally, Nelson and Perrone (2000) stressed the importance of social assumption involved by the natural features of stores. They suggest that 'retail thievery can be viewed as a crime or as a disorder' (Nelson & Perrone, 2000, p. 5). For example, some engage in the activity simply because it is anti-social and presents an exciting challenge, others do so for need or profit, yet for a number of offenders, the motivation lies in their psychological processes which compel the taking of goods without any rational explanation of spatial and temporal takes place.

TFS has been examined from historical and geographical perspectives in the context of the opportunities presented by stores offering small or easily concealable, attractive goods in situations where high levels of shopper activity and low levels of apparent surveillance combine to reduce the likelihood of discovery. The academic account of the spatial and temporal pattern acts as a guide to understand possible cause of TFS. In this way retailers undertake specific deterring approaches in order to develop coping strategies that can be used to deal with the problem.

For instance, the manager who is in charge of loss prevention must understand the community in which the store is located, what items are stolen the most, how competitors are affected by TFS, and the retail history of TFS in the area. These must be known before any decisions may be made on which deterrents and preventive devices to use (Adler, 1993). Various studies follow similar mechanisms (see Buckle & Farrington, 1984; D'Alto, 1992; French *et al.*, 1984; Kallis & Vanier Dinoo, 1985; Lawrence, 2004*b;* Nelson *et al.*, 1996; Nelson & Perrone, 2000; Phillips *et al.*, 2005) that suggest the store layout can be designed to reduce TFS, to reduce temptation, as well as reducing the opportunities of accessible goods. It is interesting, to acknowledge that these findings appear to relate to research which identifies particular explanations as to possible 'causes' of TFS. This shows a parallel in the literature on geography and history of TFS research, and as mentioned earlier in this subsection, the discipline of geography and history has become more closely related to other theory, such as social, behavioural, cognitive, economic and/or management.

This material all contributes to the development of this study's theoretical framework. In the earlier discussion, while engaging directly the literature on the causes and control of TFS, it is important for the reader to follow Appendix A.1 of this study for a comprehensive insight into the theoretical framework for the research, revealing the academic account of sought cause(s) of TFS.

It was impossible for this literature review chapter to mention and reference all results from various intellectual explanations which studied this problematic social phenomenon, but 139 potential cause(s) are cited in Appendix A.1. Overall, existing research generally tells us who the potential offender might be, under what conditions and circumstances an individual may commit such crime. However, the problem though is that little is known as to *why* these motivations (internal and/or external) have an effect; what really "causes" ordinary people to steal and what shapes their thoughts and actions. While various social scientists have expressed their perceived theories and explanations as of what causes TFS, there are very few studies exploring what the general public themselves perceive those causes to be. Literature exploring perceptions and attitudes from various stakeholders was acknowledged. Therefore, since this chapter explored earlier the possible causes for TFS, the following section will present existing research regarding TFS attitudes.

2.4 Perceptions, Attitudes and Reactions

While research has been devoted to this crime and its potential causes, little exists to discover general perceptions and attitudes about those causes known to us. Very few surveys used in past studies do not probe as deeply into the various stakeholders' attitudes toward TFS and its speculative reasons. Table 2.4-1 considers and summarises the most important studies who have dealt with attitudes toward TFS. Thus, the following section focuses with research to date into TFS beliefs, attitudes and opinions, and considers their result, which characterises the present study.

There has been much discussion in the literature about the trends and potential causes of TFS, and also about its significance towards society as a whole. Since this study concerns attitudes toward stealing from stores, it had to conduct an effort to determine all possible reasons of TFS from the literature in order to identify how those potential reasons affect public attitudes towards TFS. Specifically, the primary objective of this research was to trace attitudes toward the known (or unknown) causes (or causes) of TFS through investigating key stakeholders perceptions and reactions towards them. However, it is important to review existing attitudinal literature of TFS related concerns. Studies investigating TFS from an attitudinal approach has produced only ten studies from 1950 to 2004, which is revealed in Table 2.4-1 and will be discussed next.

Author (Date)	Response Pattern (*n* population)	Attitude Component Concerning Scale
Smigel (1956)	Self-Report Study Non-transient Public (212) Male & Female	1. Stealing from Small Scale Organisations 2. Stealing from Large Scale Organisations 3. Stealing from Government
El-Dirghami (1974)	Self-Report Study High School and College Students. Male & Female	1. The Act of Offending 2. Motives & Temptations 3. Merchandise Type & Economic Impact 4. Deterrents Condemnatory
Prestwich (1976)	Self-Report Study Consumers from Three Shopping Centers (1141) Male & Female	1. Awareness of the Problem 2. Awareness of the Costs 3. Awareness of the Inconveniences 4. Beliefs Toward the Problem
Wilkes (1978)	Self-Report Study Middle Class Consumers (290) Females	1. Beliefs Towards Fraud Practices 2. Degree of Seriousness of Fraudulent Situation 3. Pro & Anti-Business Sentiments
Guffey, Harris, & Laumer (1979)	Self-Report Study Consumers from Shopping Center (403) Male & Female	1. Who Steals & Why they Steal 2. Price Value of Item Taken 3. Level of Awareness of Prevention & Detection Devices
Kallis & Vanier (1985)	Self-Report Study Random Residence (277 of 41.9% having Admitted Offending) Male & Female	1. Perceived Legality of behavioural Scenarios 2. Perceived Propriety of the Offender 3. Beliefs Toward the Problem 4. Socialization & Individuality 5. Effectiveness & Inconvenience of Deterrent measures
Cox, Cox, & Moschis (1990)	Self-Report Study Adolescents (1692 of 37% having Admitted Offending) Male & Female	1. Own Beliefs of the Reasons for TFS 2. Level of Agreement of TFS Reason 3. Demographic & Behaviour Differences Between Offenders & Non-Offenders
Muncy & Vitell (1992)	Self-Report Study Consumers from Shopping Centers. Male & Female	1. Proactively Benefiting at the Expense of the Seller 2. Passively Benefiting at the Expense of the Seller 3. Deceptive Practices 4. No Harm / No Foul
Lin, Hastings, & Martin (1994)	Self-Report Study Marketing Managers (98) from 158 Clothing Outlets Male & Female	1. Managers Awareness of the Problem 2. Demographics on TFS (Offenders) 3. Awareness of Detection Devices 4. Awareness of Prevention Strategies
Tonglet (2001)	Self-Report Study Consumers & School Students (861 of 12.7% having Admitted Offending) Male & Female	1. TFS Intentions & Thoughts 2. The Subjective Norm 3. Perceived Control 4. Moral Considerations 5. Beliefs about TFS Behaviour

Table 2.4-1 Important Studies who have Dealt with Attitudes Toward TFS

2.4.1 Research on Perceptions and Attitudes

The first study was conducted by Smigel (1956). Smigel's study was concerned with attitudes toward stealing from three categories of organisations (i.e. small businesses, large businesses and government). It was conducted in an effort to determine how the size of the victim organisation affects public attitudes toward stealing. His focus was insight into attitude toward bureaucracy, especially it impersonal aspects, and the relationship between organisational size and attitudes in general. Stealing under a variety of circumstances Smigel used a Likert scale category (refer to Table 2.4-1). He suggested and concluded that if obliged to choose, most individuals would prefer to steal from, and be more approving of others stealing from, large scale, impersonal rather than small scale, personal organisation' (p. 321). Differences in attitudes, however, were also found on the basis of other social elements, such as socio economic status, sex, religiously, and group membership backgrounds. Theses differences were in turn variously affected by size of the victim organisation. Alike, Nettler (1989) noted 'that guilt-free theft is easiest if the victims are not visible person, but invisible collections of anonymous others' (Nettler, 1989, p. 3).

Smigel's respondents felt that large institutions could most easily absorb the losses that they 'allowed for it', or that they deserved it since 'they cheat you too'. Some consumers believe that big, impersonal, business institutions can well afford to take some hits. It is interesting, in view of Smigel's findings, to note that often enormous size and power have for a variety of reasons aroused negative attitudes towards exchange institutions which make it easier for some consumers to misbehave either in or in contact with them. This particularly is the case for large retail chains, and the more impersonal a large business is perceived to be, the greater its vulnerability to consumer misbehaviour (Smigel, 1956). Following Smigel's study, El-Dirghami in 1974 reported a study on attitudes toward TFS, involving high school and college students. He categorised 20 Likert statements into five attitude scale (see Table 2.4-1 for concerned scale).

When comparing consumers' attitudes with this type of behaviour, El-Dirghami concluded that his respondents were unaware of the seriousness of the problem, they underestimated its economic costs affected by it, and believed that security methods and laws were ineffective for preventing such behaviour. Overall respondents considered TFS to be a tolerable behaviour by much of the population, and admitted they stole from stores on one or more occasions (El-Dirghami's study is cited in Guffey *et al.*, 1979). Another study exploring consumers' attitudes toward TFS was done by Prestwich (1978).

Prestwich investigated the degree to which consumers were aware of the problem, the degree to which they are aware of the cost of TFS to themselves, and their attitudes towards TFS in general. His results suggested that consumers were aware of TFS as a problem and believed that it also increases prices. Thus, even though most customers were aware that TFS resulted in higher prices, very few appear to be aware of other significant costs and/or inconveniences. Despite that the majority of the sample gave answers reflecting a negative attitude toward TFS, they saw little reasons to be concerned about TFS and exhibit neutral and pro-shoplifting attitudes toward the problem. For example nearly all respondents in this category felt they would do nothing about it since it was 'none of their business' (p. 295). Results showed that these customers to be most frequently younger, lower in education, and lower income, with respect to respondents who were older, higher educational levels, and higher income levels tended to have stronger anti-shoplifting attitudes. Supported by his results, Prestwich suggests that the poorly informed, unconcerned, neutral or pro-shoplifting attitude consumer group should become the aim of an educational program to inform and change attitudes (see Prestwich, 1978).

In addition, Wilkes (1978) developed a 15-item Likert type instrument that considered different aspects of the consumer attitude to fraudulent behaviour. Wilkes used those items to determine the perceived seriousness of the different situations described by each question from an ethics perspective that focuses on corporate practices. He measured pro-business and anti-business sentiments and the degree of seriousness for various fraudulent practices. The respondents indicated that attitudes toward business had no significant effect on attitudes toward the problem. Generally disapproval of TFS as measured by the degree of perceived seriousness was on value (price of item stolen) and situation (fraudulent practices) specific. Thus, his results indicate that not all activities are viewed equally negatively with few being seen as positively wrong, and he also noted that respondents do not view the activities indicated by the items instrument as rare phenomenon. It is interesting to note that the respondents regarded TFS not simply as an act of stealing, but as taking an item at or above some threshold. Since a very small percentage of respondents based on their survey felt that not paying for a snack item was definitely wrong, therefore the majority did not see it as serious an act of TFS (see Wilkes, 1978).

A following study was conducted by Guffey et, al (1979). Their study was concerned with consumers' attitudes toward the various aspects of TFS. Specifically, the study concerned respondents' opinion on who steals from stores and why they do it, what price value must one take to constitute a TFS offence, and their overall level of awareness toward prevention and detection devices. By utilising a Likert scale types of statements, they found that 93% of them believed that most TFS offenders are females.

Furthermore, TFS offenders were perceived as being relatively young, ranging from 10 to 20 years of age (see Guffey *et al.*, 1979, for findings). Similar finding in their survey's results was found on the existence of value threshold on TFS behaviour, as reported earlier by Wilkes (1978). Also, they also indicated that many traditional methods of combating TFS tend to increase the environmental hostility within store, and suggest that overt prevention and detection devices must consider both the potential opportunity losses in sales and the assumed savings in reduced shrinkage due to TFS (Guffey *et al.*, 1979, p. 89).

In the 1980's a further pioneering study measuring TFS orientation was done by Kallis and Vanier (1985). It was a different study that examined TFS as a phenomenon that can be explained by psychological construct, rather than only the standard demographic approach. Kallis and Vanier investigated such aberrant behaviour from an attitudinal and psychological profile approach. Therefore, by utilising a 45 Likert-style, seven point scale statements on attitudes toward TFS and related behaviours (refer to Table 2.4-1 concerning attitudinal scale), they found eight factors accorded with theoretical explanations of TFS suggested previously,; (1) orientation toward permissiveness; (2) thrill-seeking orientation; (3) orientation toward punishment; (4) product-redress/socioeconomic-grievance orientation; (5) pathology orientation; (6) orientation toward 'shoplifters'; (7) economic orientation; and (8) personal/peer group moral orientation (refer to Kallis & Vanier Dinoo, 1985, for detail findings)

In summary, several psychological measures were developed and found to discriminate between offenders and non-offenders. Of particular importance was the emphasis given to assessing perceived effectiveness of deterrent and punitive procedure, and suggested for management experts of TFS to find different methods to prevent TFS rather than the current commonly held beliefs and practices. Specifically, they suggest 'that criminal sanctions many, contrary to their intent, in fact stimulate certain segments of society' (Kallis & Vanier Dinoo, 1985, p. 471). In the 1990, Cox et al's modern study examined adolescents' views regarding the reasons for adolescent TFS behaviour and explored demographic and behavioural differences between offenders and non offenders. Perceived reasons for adolescent offending were measured on a attitudinal Likert type scale, by having them state their extent of agreement on four factor statements (see for example Cox *et al.*, 1990). Cox et al (1990) contrast the TFS reason views of the adolescent offenders, with those of their non-offending counterparts. Their study concludes that peers and social pressures may play a more complex role in adolescent offending, and general rule-breaking behaviour were viewed as male adolescents. They continue to comment that knowledge of TFS in one's immediate peer group may alter the perceived norms of acceptable behaviour, making the behaviour seem less bad.

Further, Cox's (1990) study support that adolescent offenders may feel social pressure to obtain certain products, and this may be an indirect spur to offend (p. 158). These issues may mediate the relationship between adolescents' peer interactions and offending, and the effects of store's image on likelihood of offending from it. It is interesting, as noted earlier that stores seem more distant and impersonal, thereby making consumers feel less guilty about stealing from them (Cox *et al.*, 1990).

Muncy and Vitell (1992) build on the earlier work of Wilkes (1978), by addressing the issue of fraudulent behaviour from a consumer ethics perspective rather than corporate behaviour. Muncy and Vitell categorised 20 Likert type statements into four factors about psychometric properties that captured attitudes to fraudulent behaviour (see Table 2.4-1 for their concerning research scale). According to their study consumer ethics are the moral principles that guide behaviour of individuals or groups as they acquire, use and dispose of commodities or services. They found that demographic data indicated that attitudes to fraudulent behaviour were positively correlated with age but negatively correlated with levels of income and education. Muncy and Vitell suggested that effective measures of fraudulent behaviour should focus more on activities that proactively benefit offenders to the detriment of retailers (see Muncy & Vitell, 1992).

Similar findings as the above attitudinal surveys were presented by Lin *et al.* (1994), however this study differentiates itself from the earlier reported studies (refer to Table 2.4-1 concerning attitudinal scale and response survey). Lin and colleagues (1994) dealt with managers' attitudes toward TFS. Many of their respondents felt that TFS is a no-win situation that will never end. Managers claimed that no solution can be found to end the TFS problem they face. Their findings suggest that managers believed that 'customer service' may seem the best way for a deterrent of TFS, since managers expressed a concern about many traditional technological devices of combating TFS tend to increase the environmental hostility within store and is an expensive way to provide a false sense of security. Lin's study strongly supports a major concern to drive managers' awareness to different prevention techniques. Therefore, while their study provided important insights into managers' attitudes towards TFS, they concluded from their results that more research needs to be replicated, expanded and supported to prove useful if a good understanding of how the prevention strategy are to be developed (see Lin *et al.*, 1994) for the future.

In a later study, Tonglet (2001) measured the interaction between consumers' attitudes and beliefs about TFS and their perceptions of retail security. In addition, his research explained how consumers (surveyed: adults and school students) from belief systems that amount to rational intentions decide to steal from stores.

Tonglet's study utilised a consumer behaviour approach in an attempt to understanding of how the beliefs and attitudes of potential offenders interact with their perceptions of the retail environment to influence their stealing decisions. His study constituted by two surveys into a seven-point rating scale to measure five components of TFS attitudes (see Table 2.4-1 for his concerning scale components). Comparing attitudes with TFS behaviour, Tonglet found that both surveys indicate that TFS behaviour cannot be attributed to one factor in isolation, but rather a number of factors acting in combination that influence consumers decisions to steal. Tonglet concludes by discussing that effective TFS prevention is dependent on understanding why consumers become involved in the behaviour, and recommends that the decision to steal is influenced by pro-shoplifting attitudes, social factors, opportunities for offending and perceptions of low risk apprehension (Ekblom, 1986; Johnston *et al.*, 1994; Lo, 1994; Nelson *et al.*, 1996; Nelson & Perrone, 2000). Tonglet suggests that results implies that the deterrent messages we use today must be reassessed in order to prevent future TFS activity (Tonglet, 2001).

It should be noted that those ten studies reviewed previously were conducted with various concerns, which might have an effect on the generalisability of their results. For example, some studies were recognised to be purely local, were specific to some retail outlets, or even had a small survey sample (Cox *et al.*, 1990; Guffey *et al.*, 1979; Kallis & Vanier Dinoo, 1985; Lin *et al.*, 1994; Muncy & Vitell, 1992; Prestwich, 1978; Smigel, 1956; Tonglet, 2001; Wilkes, 1978), and thus they cannot be generalized. Generalisation of findings to consumers and particularly across countries must be done with care since attitudes to such behaviour are likely to vary by culture (Tonglet, 2001). Additionally, reliability is another concern for researchers for their analysis. The issues of reliability are very essential because TFS is sought to be a criminal behaviour and serves a sensitive topic (see Lee & Renzetti, 1990; Lee, 1999), and therefore may be subject to dishonest reporting (Cox *et al.*, 1990). Another concern is the limits on TFS studies can access and the sample techniques used, or instruments which are intended as a general measure of fraudulent behaviour and are not specifically to retailing (for example see Muncy & Vitell, 1992).

Obviously, the findings in the above studies suggest that by exploring attitudes toward TFS it is a noteworthy approach in order to identify what the population perceives to be the underling dynamics which encourages or inhibit TFS. It was recognised throughout all the self-report studies that subjects (that is, consumers, school student, adolescents, managers), either do not realise or, if they do, do not care that they are the ones who eventually the victims. Researcher have documented that TFS has become considered as 'quasi-acceptable' behaviour by much of the population (Guffey *et al.*, 1979; Prestwich, 1978; Wilkes, 1978).

However, a full critique for those studies mentioned in Table 2.4-1 as well as suggestions will be discussed in Chapter Five. Overall, most studies reported in this section strongly support that the methods used to combat TFS are strongly associated with consumer attitudes, which are dependent on fully understanding why consumers become involved in the behaviour in the first place. As, Kallis and Vanier (1984), suggest that retailers and others involved in fighting the incidence have to change current commonly held beliefs and practices. Their views are also supported by other research (Guffey *et al.*, 1979; Lin *et al.*, 1994; Tonglet, 2001). For instance, if we take Lin et al (1994), they support developing insights into managers attitudes toward TFS that may prove useful if a better understanding of how the prevention strategy is to be developed (p. 28). And as for Guffey's study, he suggests that this way of exploration (Lin's *et al.* propositions) may have subtle and long-range effects on store patronage. Therefore, the impact that security produces have on consumer attitude will have to be given greater consideration in the future (Guffey *et al.*, 1979, p. 89).

Nevertheless, it seemed important to review such studies presented in the above section, not only for immediate issue for understanding this study's differentiation, but also to examine other inputs which feed into it which have thus far not been discussed before in relevant literature. For example, possible insights may rise from the common sense of the key stakeholders (or victims) of the problem as of their attitudes toward TFS and especially to the potential causes of TFS. In order for this study to successively explore the degree to which specific stakeholders agree with the potential causes of TFS, this chapter was deemed necessary to examine the particular literature on various reactions.

2.5 Discussions and Insights of the Literature Review

There is an extensive literature about TFS, but the precise cause for this type of behaviour has been subject to detailed on-going debate (Nelson *et al.*, 1996, p. 421). However, while researchers have, for the most part, agreed on most possible reasons for stealing, there is still wide disagreement among researchers on the offenders' background, motives, incentives and deterrence (Sweeney, 1999, p. 62). In addition to the cause(s) noted throughout, it is also important to be aware that not all enquires confronted the sex dynamics of TFS (Phillips *et al.*, 2005). The stimulus of this chapter however was an interest in the broader picture of the thesis research area.

Having defined throughout this chapter, previous evidence relates to one and other, with respect of particular motivations associated with such criminal behaviour. Their evidence, consistent with research of the kind of situation, circumstances and conditions in which TFS is most prone to occur. Thus, a Table will be presented in the next chapter in order to illustrate the dispositional and situational pattern of the different disciplines. Nevertheless, these various theories from different disciplines have attempted defining the problem based on its main motive or cause, and a large number of studies mentioned earlier had clear implications for the formulation of security policy designed to combat the problem of TFS.

2.5.1 Challenges within Research Approaches

TFS is one of the most prevalent crimes in our modern consumer oriented society, and on the increase in recent years. It was apparent throughout Chapters One and Two that TFS is not only a serious problem to the business community and economic system of a country, but also to the general population (Krasnovsky & Lane, 1998), the consumer who ultimately must pay higher prices to cover the cost of stolen goods. According to Leaver (1993) the attitudes toward the wider aspect of social cohesion are relevant to TFS (procedural technique discussed in Chapter Four). Yet, despite the seriousness of this common and frequently undetected crime, TFS could receive more attention by the research community. Earlier literature has primarily focused on examining the characteristic and motivations of the "offender". Indeed earlier research implies that the numbers of arrests of such criminal and unlawful offenders made by officials represent the tip of the iceberg.

Therefore, recorded incidents and detained offenders should be treated and examined with caution if exploring such offence (depended on what the researcher what is trying to find out). Most TFS offences are not detected by the private security or the store personnel, and then again not all cases they detect are passed onto the police and eventually documented in official statistics. Therefore, whilst nobody knows how many people are "let go", on either side of the Atlantic there are similarities in the process, stereotypes and prejudices. Importantly, we should not discount the amount of offenders who are let go annually and the view that it has been increasing dramatically since TFS begun its movement. As mentioned earlier, some idea of the extent of scale can be observed yet the changes in the global economy are a different matter. According to Bark's (2002) understanding, he work out that the changes in the global economy have not imposed upon TFS analysis then.

In brief, since it will be discussed in the final chapter, Bark's study mentioned that there are means to impose such changes in the global economy upon TFS theory, seeing as,

> '...there are several possible avenues to pursue when looking at how globalisation of capitalism has impinged on shoplifting, the European Economic Community (EEC) and in particular Britain. Adding, [he clams] that this also involves changes in the personnel of the shoplifter, the use of the shoplifted goods, the types and site of the goods production, and the retail of the shoplifted goods.'
>
> (Bark, 2002, p. 19)

Still there has been a growing interest in those who commit TFS offences, even if argued by various studies that TFS behaviour is an exceedingly common and normal human activity that forms the incident. It is evident that this target population is heterogeneous on a number of influential determinants related to the offender. Although there have been a number of studies on TFS offenders, little has been done in exploring the underlying reasons of TFS behaviour (Wong, 2005), by examining the effects of interventions used with the ordinary so called ethical shopper, us the consumers. Studies specifically concerned with the apprehended TFS offender.

Even so various studies that have examined this diversity that typically have used an *a priori* demarcation based on theoretical doctrine, key concepts, or some other phenomenon that explains demographic characteristics, motivational patterns, or personality to derive useful subgroups. Indeed, a large number of studies argue that its motivations are frequently multi-dimensional, that is there is often more than one reason of why the particular individual has stolen or will be willing to steal in the near future. Usually, when an incident such as TFS occurs, different disciplinary studies offer explanations in terms of its cause in order to distinguish who committed the act, under what condition and with which circumstance (a map is described of this study's matrix in the methodological Chapter in Section 4.2.2, Table 4.2-1).

Having defined the diverse as well as compatible reasons of the possible motivations of a potential TFS offender, this study now aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of why a person may take something from a store without paying for it. Obviously, there are many quoted causes of what may motivate a person to steal. It can be reasons as varied, since a typical theft offender can come in a different size, age, culture, economic and social background. For example, it could be a housewife, an executive, a millionaire, a celebrity or even school children. Studies show that anyone, regardless of age, skin colour, sex, class or economic standing can be a potential TFS offender. Actually this may sound it would be impossible to "spot" TFS offenders, since the offenders themselves could be us, the customer – the layperson (Elquist, 2000).

In most cases we believe as the layperson (or customer), we know the most likely cause for TFS, which may be described to us by the mass media, read from writers and researchers or might even have experienced it ourselves. In the majority of cases what we perceive (as professionals or laypeople), undoubtedly, monetary and/or material gains are the main reasons for these thefts. However, the previous literature cited in this review, usually suggests diverse or parallel factors that gives a common relation behind such causes. That is, social position, social influence or pressures, competition and display, acceptance, prestige and status, economic funds and psychic well-being. In a substantial number of cases, however, the motives are not very clear at all, since the perpetrators of such act seems to have been carried out by members of the "moral" majority in society.

2.5.2 Review and Conclusion

The purpose of the present chapter was to shed light on the causes of TFS by reviewing and criticising the relevant literature. What the author was aimed to do in this chapter was to try and take the crime of TFS into its component parts, and examine all inputs which feed into it. This was intentionally done in order to see how far *our* (as victims) knowledge of this crime is furthered through concentrating in its causal sense, since as a central focus this study's as a whole has chosen to examine the attributions of the potential causes from the victims perspective.

To understand modern TFS as it now occurs, this chapter had to necessary place it in its cultural settings. This chapter considered how and why stores in the particular form that they take in this society have developed over time, and what the significance of shopping generally is, as a social phenomenon, Then, the section describing the fundamental changes in the business sector was undertaken to highlight the factors that have influenced the development TFS and its causes. Also, emphasis was given to who actually engages in it and how (the descriptive question). However, in the case of examining the history, extent and nature of TFS, both social and economic, there are difficulties of access to reliable data, as seen in this chapter and Chapter One.

Information may have been reported initially in a distorted or condensed form, or in some way rationalised by the original author; in the case of making estimates about probable future trends one might have thought that there was minimal hard data. This chapter then began theorising TFS by defining the concept. Generally speaking, TFS can be defined as an act of theft, which occurs when a customer (or person who appears to be a customer) steals goods from a store while it is open to the general public (Sennewald, 2000, p. 4). This definition is in line with past (Kallis & Vanier Dinoo, 1985) and modern understanding (Fullerton & Punj, 2004*a*).

This chapter provided a review and critique of existing research, in order to better understand why people steal (the etiological question) in the "eyes" of academic explanations, and thus discuss how those explanations turn into techniques in order to discover the best way to combat the problem. This chapter mentioned the work done by store personnel and the other privet or public institutions who deal with the offence of TFS (the prevention/deterrence question), and a full review will be discussed in the final chapter.

This chapter ended up with an argument on particular TFS studies that examined various perceptions and reactions. It seemed important to review and contribute a part of the literature review on relative attitudinal studies, not only for immediate issue for understanding this study's differentiation, but also to examine other inputs which feed into it which have thus far not been discussed before in relevant literature. Thus, this chapter was deemed necessary to examine the particular literature on various reactions. Because the thesis explores victims' perceptions, this study aims to develop an exploratory model of TFS in the latter part of the study. It is hoped that this chapter has prepared the way for further discussion of TFS in the later chapters to come.

3

Attribution Style and Public Attitudes: Perceptions versus Reality

3.1 Understanding the Social World

'The causes of events are always more interesting than the events themselves.'
Marcus Tullius. Cicero (106-43 BC),
Ad Atticum, Bkix, epis 5 (Wilcox, 2005)

'It is the process itself [the "perceived" cause], rather than its accuracy [the "cause"], that attribution theory tries to explain.'
(Gross, 2003, p. 39)

Chapter three highlights the importance of studying people's beliefs, perceptions and experiences in order to understand their attitudes toward the causes of criminality, specifically theft from stores (TFS). This study positioned its representative sample as "naïve scientists", in order to distinguish what they believe causes the behaviour, as opposed to the "professional scientists" viewpoint. By presenting them with potential causes proposed by various research studies, the three sample groups had to decide on the degree of level of agreement based on those everyday "scientific" explanations. When this study investigated the lay person's causal explanations or judgments of TFS, it was not concerned with the accuracy or validity of those explanations, but simply with their reactions. This study has focused on the *process* itself, that is the "perceived causes", rather than the actual behaviour, that is "the causes".

The study aims for a grounded understanding of attitudes toward the causes of TFS, which in turn reveals *what* broader perceptions actually attribute TFS, and provides an insight into the ways in which those justifications cluster into particular types of explanation, together with the rationale behind them. Thus, in order to understand people's attitudes toward such (or any) situation, this study must explain the "process" of how people's beliefs and perceptions form their understanding. This decision process is called *attribution process*, and insights into this process form the basis for *attribution theory*. It is a theoretical approach within which this research was conducted, and hence will be discuses in detail in this chapter.

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a methodological foundation based on a theoretical approach from which to understand this study's decision process of exploring attitudinal judgments, in order to reveal how those reactions correspond and distinct with particular explanations. Framed in its philosophy, it provides the grounds for this thesis strategic research choice, since its theoretical approach was chosen as a function of this study's research situation. Appreciating the importance of the attribution theory in this study, this chapter is also structured under two theoretical issues of social perceptions and representations, and attitude mechanisms. This chapter aims to explain this study's theoretical approach which guided this investigation, in order to achieve an *understanding*, and not merely a description of attitudes toward the causes of TFS, and therefore to compliment formal knowledge of this intriguing phenomenon contained by our social world.

3.1.1 Understanding Attitudes to a Social Phenomenon

In order to understand people's attitudes to any social phenomenon, we must understand what they know and think about it (Hewstone, 1986). To accomplish that, Fritz Heider (1958) originally regarded the "ordinary" person (the non-psychologist) as a naive scientist, someone who actively tries to make sense of the world, in particular, the social world. He claimed that a fundamental feature here is the *common-sense psychology* which is the belief that underlying people's overt behaviour are causes, and it's these causes, and not the observable behaviour itself, that represent the meaning of what people do (Gross, 2003, p. 17). Common sense has been defined by Quinton (1977) as, 'the source or system of those very general beliefs about the world which are universally and unquestioningly taken to be true in everyday life' (cited in Hewstone, 1986), however, what is general or common sense determination of a specific situation, of course, vary between individuals (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993).

Everyday interaction with other people and environment consist of a complex mix of thoughts, feelings, and behaviours (Gross, 2001). According to Gross, how one responds or reacts to various events largely depend on one's interpretations and understandings of the event itself. As mentioned earlier, people actively try to make sense of the world around them, in particular, the social world, the world of behavioural situations. They have *beliefs* about how the world works, about their role in it, and about their relationship with others (Anderson & Weiner, 1992). These beliefs are, to a large extent, are causal perception (Hewstone, 1989), since, people are capable of perceiving the world in causes (Heider, 1958). With those causal perceptions people can predict, explain, and to a great extent control life situations (Anderson & Weiner, 1992).

Research has shown that explanations for selection decisions may influence a variety of applicant perceptions and behaviour (Chebat *et al.*, 1995; Ployhart & Ehrhart, 2005; Wood & Bartkowski, 2004), but an understanding of how and why this occurs remains largely unknown (Ployhart & Ehrhart, 2005). Ployhart and Ehrhart (2005) used attributions to understand the effects of explanations on applicant reactions. They attempted to understand the effects of explanations by attribution process, and suggested the *process* may be useful construe the explanation–attribution–perception relationship. Other studies used attribution theory to examine the role of media use in individuals' explanations of crime and welfare (see Sotirovic, 2003).

By adopting their theoretical suggestions, insights into the attribution *process* of how people formulate their causal explanations or judgments, formed the theoretical support for this study's investigation. But before getting any deeper into the details of the theory behind this research, this study notes a distinction that is crucial for appreciating the nature of this exploratory study. When we talk about "the causes" of a person's behaviour, the implications is that we know what is responsible for the observed behaviour, that our explanation is accurate, adequate and sufficient. By contrast, when we talk about "perceived causes", we refer to what we believe is responsible for the observed behaviour, acknowledging that our explanations might be mistaken. While we might be willing to accept this distinction at the theoretical level, in practice we often confuse our beliefs with the truth (Gross, 2003, p. 17).

However, this study is not concerned with the accuracy or validity of a particular explanation, in other words, whether or not the sought "scientific" explanations are real ("the causes" identified by intellectuals - Chapter Two). Thus, this study was simply concerned to identify the participants' reaction (level of agreement) to the proposed explanations (the causes); in order to reveal what they believe to be responsible for the specific behaviour. For example, if someone believes that the main cause of theft is poverty, then their causal explanation or judgment for that behaviour may hold very positive attitudes toward that particular cause. Specifically, the focus is on the perceived cause of the particular behaviour, rather that the actual cause. Overall, this study explores attributions that perceive favoured positive attitudes toward the causes of TFS, and whereas the attributions that perceive favoured negative attitudes, by examining the level of beliefs about the known causes of TFS from the general publics attitudes concerning the "actual" referred to causes.

3.1.2 Understanding Unethical Behaviour against Businesses

There seem to be more causes of unethical behaviours and situations with every passing day (see Callen & Ownbey, 2003; Fukukawa, 2002). Businesses such as retailing practices are conducting offensive advertising, setting up copy branding initiatives, adopting unethical trading practises in selling situations and so on (McIntyre *et al.*, 1999; Whysall, 1998, 2000). However, some researchers argue that consumers (or public) engaging unethical behaviours or misbehaviours are often more damaging to society as a whole (Fullerton & Punj, 2004*a;* Strutton *et al.*, 1994). While earlier studies investigated the unethical behaviour of businesses, the unit of analysis in this study, as explained in Chapter One is the unethical behaviour of individuals' against businesses, in the light of public perceptions and experiences of why an event might occur.

Objectively why someone steals is not straightforward. It is often very difficult to say in an objective way exactly what cause(s) behaviour and especially, on sensitive topic (see Lee & Renzetti, 1990, for an review on such problems), such as criminal behaviour. There is little room for disagreement as to whether or not something is illegal, but there will usually be more debate about the immorality of (illegal) acts. Indeed Social Science can be seen as an attempt to find out 'what make us tick' (Gross, 2003). Thus, Social Sciences are dedicated to understanding the human condition, ideally to the extent that the singular and collective behaviours of human beings can be understood and even predicted (Manstead & Semin, 2001). Though their goals, Manstead and Semin claim that those 'sciences' differ in terms of their way of looking at things, the questions they ask, the methods they use in addressing these questions, and what they do with this information once they obtain it.

As a result, they conclude with different theories offering very different and sometimes conflicting accounts (reviewed and criticised in Chapter Two). The study of social, public, or persons perception is proven to be the study of how the lay person uses theory and data in understanding attitudes of other people (Gross, 2003). Although, research in attitudes has been popular throughout the social sciences, the construct has been a central one in psychology but more central to social psychology focusing widely in extensive theoretical and empirical development than to any other academic discipline (Gross, 2001). According to Buss (1995, p. 16) social psychology tends to be 'phenomenon oriented'. A major concern to social psychology is "causation", that is, the perceived cause of why an event has occurred (Anderson & Weiner, 1992). Important research has been done around understanding and explaining how and why individuals attribute causality and form attitudes concerning the nature and cause of particular social problem (see Bobo & Hutchings, 1996; Shepard, 1992; Wood & Bartkowski, 2004).

Research has examined consumer's moods on perceived attribution of the cause for waiting (see Chebat *et al.*, 1995), the influence of beliefs about the cause of homosexuality on public policy attitudes concerning gay rights (see Wood & Bartkowski, 2004), the attributions of public beliefs of the causes of poverty and wealth (see Stephenson, 2000), and the attributions of public beliefs about the causes of homelessness (see Lee *et al.*, 1990). However, current research on attributions of public beliefs in general about the causes of theft behaviour has been limited. The limited research was sought around publics perceptions toward the act of criminal behaviour, but an understanding of how and why this occur remains largely unknown. For example, people who make dispositional attributions tend to view crime, racial inequality, and other social problems as the outcome of a weak character (Grasmick & McGill, 1994; Kluegel & Bobo, 1993), while situational attributions are made by those who view such issues as the product of social circumstances beyond the individual's control. In general, dispositional attributions are linked with more punitive reactions to deviant behaviour (Cullen, 1994; Cullen *et al.*, 1985; Flanagan, 1987; Lee *et al.*, 1990). Additionally, recent research also examined the role of media use in individuals' explanations of crime and welfare under attribution theory and the information-processing approach (see Sotirovic, 2003).

Research has shown a variety of explanations on the causes of theft behaviour, but an understanding of how the public perceive this type of behaviour remains largely unknown. This study extends current research on attribution styles and public perceptions to criminal behaviour, but incorporates an important piece of public (that is, key stakeholders) reactions towards *the perceive causes* of theft behaviour. The aim in this chapter is to describe the basic process people explain an everyday event, in order to reveal their attitudes towards the causes of TFS (by collecting a large pool of statements that was relevant to the phenomenon). To accomplish this, it is helpful to adopt a theoretical approach by which founded this study's investigation. Thus, it is now important to indicate some of the areas of social psychological theory which guided and supported this research. Those theories helped to determine what and how attitudinal statements were posed in the survey, and how the data were interpreted.

3.2 Attribution Style and Attitudes Toward the Causes: A Theoretical Approach

The theoretical approach for the present research was based on social-psychological ideas, and discussed throughout this chapter, since social psychology is defined as:

> '...the scientific field that seeks to understand the nature and causes of individual behavior and thought in social situations.' (Baron *et al.*, 1998, p. 4)

3.2.1 Social or Person Perceptions and Representations

Person perceptions (Jones & Davis, 1965) involve perception of self and perceptions of others, by simply attributing causes (Gross, 2003). As part of our everyday living it seems impossible to interact with other people without trying to make sense of other actions, and to anticipate how they are likely to act. Each person attempts to explain, predict and regularly, control others behaviour, in order to understand others and themselves (Gross, 2001). In this way, Heider (1958) claimed that we all act as 'psychologists'. While most of us are not, the person as psychologist is sought to be a *metaphor*. By definition social perception is a symbol of a person's mental process, by means strongly 'cognitive', and since the 1980's perspectives on such have been largely replaced by that of social cognition (or people's cognition) (Gross, 2001). Social cognition is the subfield of social psychology that studies the mental representations and processes that underlie social perceptions, relationships, judgments, and influences (see Gross, 2001). This approach is all about how people select, interprets, and uses information to make relate and form judgments about the social world; assuming that people are motivated to understand the world accurately.

Critics of social cognition such as Moscovici (1981) argues that it may have taken social psychology too far towards cognitive psychology, so that there may not be any "social" in social cognition (for an excellent review see Moscovici, 1984; Moscovici & Duveen, 2000). Moscovici claims that social cognition should be a study of how cognition is socially constructed (Moscovici, 1981), according to Moscovici, the study of social cognition should not be only concerned with what's going on "inside the head of individuals", but also how cultural knowledge may be constructed and transmitted to individuals as his theory of *social representations*. Buss (1995, p. 18) however supports 'mechanism specificity' of the mind which will occur to the degree that there are specific adaptive demands linked with particular types of social interaction. Therefore, the "origins" and "functions" of social representations are to establish an order for the individual, helping him or her to understand and master any social phenomenon, use strategic solutions that have evolved to solve problem, and facilitate communication with other members of society on the basis of a shared conception of reality. Thought or behaviour should build a theory on common sense of a socially shared reality, and why different roles are adopted and learned by different members of our society. This means that people not only come to think and understand their social world by the way of images upon which the media and against of socialization, but also by members of the whole society structured in particular ways that are shared by forms of social relationships. As Buss (1995) claims social cognitive mechanisms are both in people's evolved minds and circulating in an adaptive society.

Social representations have important consequences for how we deal with one another, as well as how society responds to particular individuals and groups. Causal relations entails by behaviour of other people involving their beliefs, vales and attitudes (Buss, 1995). For example, whether theft behaviour may be conceptualised in moral, biological, political or social terms it will however be determine how policy makers, criminal justice administrators, and organisational management respond to the social problem. A earlier study clearly showed that when a lady was convicted for multiple theft act, she was held to be criminally responsible (law and order), despite her kleptomania disorder (see McNeilly & Burke, 1998). Nevertheless, people spend a great deal of time thinking about causes (since, people are capable of perceiving the world in causes) to form some sort of perception towards the individual or a group of individuals in that situation (Shepard, 1992).

We *all* form impressions or perceptions of people we meet, have described to us or even came across in the media, which we use them as bases for deciding how we feel (positively or negatively) and act (see Sotirovic, 2003). Shared generalised assumptions about people based around members of a social group, for example ethnicity, nationality, sex, race and class, usually different from ourselves (i.e. in terms of physical appearance)(Shepard, 1992). This process of social grouping might be also described as perceptual stereotyping (Hogg & Vaughan, 1998) and spatial representation (Shepard, 1992) concepts of social shared minds.

However, those evaluative images held by members of one group about members of another group do truly come from a purely cognitive point of view from information-processing mechanism (Buss, 1995). Moscovici's (1981) theory of social construction and maintenance of cognition had an impact upon the illustration of stereotypes. But, by understanding stereotypes we may need to incorporate an analysis of why stereotypes are formed, represented and used in social language and communication (i.e. information) (see Hogg & Vaughan, 1998). Forming impressions of other people and their perceptions are very important aspect of social cognition (Schneider *et al.*, 1979), as it refers to cognitive processes (Buss, 1995) and structures that affect and are affected by social context (Hogg & Vaughan, 1998). The overall impressions we form of other people are dominated by stereotypes, via cognitive structures and information processing, and gradually construct an adequate explanation. Most of our impressions of others are based on their overt behaviour, and the setting in which it occurs, and how we judge the internal (e.g. ability, motivation, personality) or external (e.g. situation, environment) causes of someone's behaviour will have a major influence on the impression we form about them (Gross, 2001). Nevertheless, social representations appear to offer the promise of a rich and valuable understanding of common sense, and to go beyond the notions of "spatial" stereotypes.

The main reason why the notion of social perception and representation is so important for the present study is that it invites a focus of stored knowledge and experiences. By introducing the terms social perceptions and representations into this study, it offered the knowledge that individuals and groups posses, and use, concerning TFS. Nevertheless, to provide a clear account in how and why people try to construct causes of TFS, this study applied to its research a theoretical approach that was concerned with the cognitive psychological processes individuals use to understand the causes of TFS, which is presented in the following section.

3.2.2 The Bases of Attribution Theory

The term "attribution" is somewhat a synonym of the term, "explanation". Since, attributions are the explanations that people develop to understand the causes of human behaviour (Barnett, 1999). Thus, when we offer satisfactory explanations about why things happened, we can give one of two types. This means that we assign the causes of behaviour to either; some characteristic of the actor, or else, to factors external to the person. In the first case, we can make an internal attribution, and in the second case, we can make external attribution. An external attribution assigns causality to an outside agent or force.

For example, a thief would say, "The devil made me steal it." An external attribution claims that some outside thing motivated the event; this might be something to do with the situation, including some other person or some physical feature of the environment. By contrast, an internal attribution assigns causality to factors within the person, such as their motives, intentions or personality (Gross, 2001). Therefore, when we are attributing something, we are actually offering particular satisfactory explanations to ourselves about why things happened, and in turn we develop some sort of understanding to the causes of it, which will form our attitude towards that object(s) or cause(s) (see Gross, 2001).

The theory of attribution is actually not a single theory, its rather a collection of many social psychological theories (Barnett, 1999) that all approach to describe *how* people explain the causes of human behaviour or event (Gross, 2001). Within a broader-spectrum *attribution theory* is useful in helping us to understand why people behave the way they do, which deals with the common principles governing how we select and use information to arrive at causal explanations for one's own and/or others' behaviour or event, as well as how to change human behaviour (Barnett, 1999; Gross, 2001). Thus, the basis for attribution theory is the desire to understand how people arrive at common-sense explanations for their own and for others behaviour.

The original stimulus for the work came from Heider (1958) in a much-cited work, *The Psychology of Interpersonal Relations*, in which it was suggested that a major task for anyone trying to understand the social and physical world was to produce satisfactory accounts of why things happened. Insofar as this applied to understanding why people do the things they do, this amounted to finding satisfactory causal accounts of behaviour; and furthermore, since searching for explanations is something that scientists do, this amounted to regarding people as if they were in some sense natural or primitive psychologists (see Hewstone & Fincham, 2001). From this basis, the idea of man as a naive scientist began to emerge, this notion deriving from the accumulating evidence that people made inferences about the *causes* of human behaviour on the basis of their observations of social acts, in the way that the scientist or physicist makes inferences on the basis of observations of physical events. Thus, the task then became one of finding out how such causal inferences were made, and illuminating the kinds of evidence involved in the process. More importantly however these causal inferences, describing and predicting events as a science should do, were held to have important implications for behaviour whether they were true or not (Hewstone, 1989).

3.2.2.1 History of Attribution Theory

Attribution theory originated in social psychology in late 40-ies and early 50-ies, but, it flourished during 1970s and 1980s (Hewstone, 1983). Hewstone (1983) clams that 11%t of all social psychology research during that period were devoted to the attribution theory. Fritz Heider (1958) was the first to propose a psychological theory of attribution, as part of what he called a 'common-sense psychology'. He viewed the layperson as a "naïve scientist", linking observable behaviour to unobservable cause to understand how people try to explain events in their social and psychical world (Hewstone & Fincham, 2001), but Kelley, Jones, Davis, Weiner and colleagues (for example, see Jones & Davis, 1965; Jones *et al.*, 1972; for example, see Kelley, 1967; Weiner, 1986) developed a theoretical framework that has become a major research paradigm of social psychology (see Hewstone & Fincham, 2001).

In the late 1990s and at present, attribution theories converge on the following themes: mediation between stimulation and response; active and constructive causal interpretation; and the perspective of the naïve scientist or lay person (Hewstone & Fincham, 2001). Nevertheless, all theories share the concern of Heider's (1958) descriptive theory with the common-sense explanations, and the answers to the general question *why* do people do what they do (Hewstone, 1983). The principle of the theory is assumed that laypeople are able to attribute causes to behaviour based on what they believe (see Heider, 1958).

According to Heider (1958), it is crucial to know what people believe to be the cause, as those beliefs would also guide one's behaviour. The idea that people frequently seek to locate the causes of their own and others' behaviour, in order to plan their own behaviour has, in some way revolutionised social psychology (Hogg & Vaughan, 1998).

3.2.2.2 Theories of Causal Attribution

Attribution theory is well-designed in helping us to understand *why* people behave the way they, by assessing laypeople in explaining the causes of behaviour (Barnett, 1999; Gross, 2001). Generally, the theory is concerned with how individuals interpret events and how this relates to their thinking and behavior (Heider, 1958). So, attribution researchers try to answer the questions of what attributions people make, how do they use information to make those attributions, and when people engage in attribution processes.

By drawing our attention earlier mentioned in this chapter to one of the most influential models of attribution, Heider's (1958) theory of *naïve psychology*, which viewed the layperson as a naïve scientist (or psychologist). Hogg and Vaughan (1998), clamed that it's 'a model of social cognition that characterises people as using rational, scientific-like, cases-effect analyses to understand their world'(p. 83). So in Heider's view, the layperson is a naïve scientist who links observable behaviour to unobservable causes, and these causes (personal and situational factors as causes of behaviour rather than behaviour itself) provide the meaning of what people do. However, he was also interested in culturally shared beliefs about behaviour that forms part of common-sense psychology (Gross, 2001).

We can clearly see the parallels between Heider's common-sense psychology and Moscovici's social representations mentioned earlier. Nevertheless, Heider inspired other psychologists to pursue his original ides. For instance, Jones and Davis (1965) are usually credited with making the next major step forward with their theory of correspondent inferences. They claimed that this theory explains how people infer that a person's behaviour corresponds to an underlying disposition. In general, their theory sought to explain how far a person's actions could be accounted for in terms of the traits, dispositions and intentions of the person doing the act (known in attributional parlance as the "actor"), rather than in terms of situational or other "external" factors. Therefore,

> '...we need to be able to infer that both the behaviour and the intention that produced it correspond to some underlying, stable feature of the person (a disposition).'
>
> (Gross, 2001, p.342)

Although Jones and Davis theory continues to attract interest, most of the studies supporting it didn't seem to measure causal attributions (Hewstone & Fincham, 2001). As Hewstone and Fincham (1996) claim inferring a disposition is not the same as inferring cause and each appears to reflect different underlying processes. Thus, its impact has been limited as opposed to the following theory of causal attribution (cited in Gross, 2001). However, the next addition to attribution theory and possibly the best-known theory (Hogg & Vaughan, 1998) was the development by Kelley (1967) of the ANOVA model of causal inference merits closer inspection within this chapter, because it presents a very clear picture of the type of thinking which can underlie the construction of causal explanations of human action. The model conceptualises the causal attribution process as hinging around the *covariation model* of three dimensions, the title of this theoretical approach (the 'ANOVA' model of attribution) deriving from a loose analogy with analysis of variance. Kelley's approach is particularly useful as it illustrates one of the central features of attribution theories in a very graphic and comprehensible manner.

The fact that the explanation postulated for some action results from the way in which that situation is perceived by the person constructing the causal account (the observer). As with Heider's theory, Kelley also stresses the importance that people act much like scientists, and most properly take the approach to discover the causes of behaviour. However, Kelley's model tries to explain how we make causal attributions where we have some knowledge of how an individual usually behaves in a variety of situations, and how others usually behave in those situations (Gross, 2001).

According to Kelley, people assign the causes of behaviour to the factor (whether internal or external) that covaries most closely with the behaviour, and then assign that factor a causal role (Hogg & Vaughan, 1998). Is thought that a *causal role* can be featured into three kinds of causal information by people, for example, the theory is quit straightforward (refer to Figure 3.2-1). For instance, first observe an individuals' behaviour. Then, try to determine whether a particular behaviour was internally or externally caused, that is, whether it was under the personal control (e.g. personality) of the individual or the result of situational or environmental factors (e.g. social pressure). However, in order to make the decision above, it is best to examine three types of information in order to assist us to interpret the individuals' behaviour: (a) *Distinctiveness* - Does the actor behave this way toward other people or things? If "no" then the behaviour is highly distinctive and attribute its cause to external (situational) factors, rather than to internal (personal) causes, (b) *Consensus* - Do other people behave in the same way as the individual in similar situations? If "yes" then the behaviour is rated high on consensus and we attribute its cause to external (situational) rather than internal (personal) factors.

And (c) *Consistency* - Does the individual behave this way on other occasions? If "yes" then the individuals' behavior is highly consistent and we attribute causality to internal (personal) factors rather than to external (situational) factors (cited in Barnett, 1999, see for an excellent review on Kelly's Model).

OBSERVATION	INTERPRETATION	ATTRIBUTION OF CAUSE	
"An Individual's Behaviours"	Distinctiveness----------|	High ("no")---------->	External
		Low ("yes")---------->	Internal
	Consensus----------|	High ("yes")---------->	External
		Low ("no")---------->	Internal
	Consistency----------|	High ("yes")---------->	Internal
		Low ("no")---------->	External

Figure 3.2-1 Attribution Theory (derived from Barnett, 1999)

However, Kelly recognised that in many situations which we don't know the individual, we might not have access to any or all of the covariation model's three types of information (Barnett, 1999). However, this does not concern the present investigation, because this study uses a survey methodology to measure a persons knowledge and thoughts about the causes of TFS, but specifically their perceived beliefs about such causes, it does not, however measure theft behaviour. Since, it was illustrated in Chapter Two that everyone (that is, this study's participants) has seen, heard, read or even experienced TFS in some stage of their life.

It is important to bear in mind for the sake of this study that information about distinctiveness, consensus, and consistency can come to the observer through channels other than direct observation. Regardless of Heider's, Jones and Davis's, or Kelley's original intentions, the general model does not in principle appear to require first hand information, but can be applied to reported information, or even to beliefs or preconceptions (referred to in the literature as "social representation") formed in the absence of literal multiple observations. Whilst attribution theorists sometimes conceptualise such a situation as one of incomplete data, this is perhaps misleading if we thereby conclude that the resulting causal account must, as a consequence, necessarily be less powerful or persuasive than one based on direct observation.

In fact a person's beliefs about, say, the consistency of an act (for example, that "impulsive" shoppers inevitably relapse after one buy) can be plugged into the model as readily as can direct observations, where their influence will be as powerful as direct observations if the beliefs in question are sufficiently strongly held. These simple examples based on Kelley's notions serve to illustrate two of the general points made earlier. Firstly, people construct explanations of social behaviour in a manner which is psychologically dynamic rather than primarily veridical. In fact, the attribution process has nothing to say on the issue of whether explanations constructed in these terms are true or not. Secondly, the process also appears to be lawful, Kelley suggesting a way of conceptualising it in terms of three major building blocks out of which explanation is formed in a logical fashion.

Viewed in this way, people's explanation is not based on any knowledge of actual causality, but is an inference made on the basis of certain social features of the act about which the observer has information of some kind. Consequently, the account might be "true" or not. In addition, this study's theoretical approach does not aim to explain other people's behaviour, but exploring their understanding attitudes to the causes of theft behaviour, by the basic process of attribution.

3.2.2.3 The Attribution Processes

Attribution *theory* is seen as a process by which people use information to make satisfactory inferences about the causes of an action or events (Gross, 2001). To recap, we tend to attribute an action or event to a potential cause with which it varies, provided that it varies only with the potential cause (distinctiveness) and does so on several occasions (consistency) and for several observers (consensus). To better understand further application of attribution theory to this study's research, it is best to illustrate in order to acquaint the reader with the basic processes of attribution. Such process is traced again back to Heider's (1958) work, concerned with how individuals attempt to understand, interpret actions or events and how this relates to their thinking and behaviour.

Figure 3.2-2 demonstrates that a four-stage process underlies an attribution: (1) the behaviour occurs; (2) the person must perceive or observe the behavior; (3) then the person determines that the behaviour was intentionally performed; and if so (4) then the person must decide and attribute to internal or external causes (Barnett, 1999). By focusing on assign reasons about whether our or someone's behaviour is internally or externally caused, attribution theory and the attribution process are also concerned with judgement. Accurate attributions are very important to "our" social perceptions and representation, however, if we attribute someone's behaviour to false or unreal cause, serious problems are likely to result (Barnett, 1999).

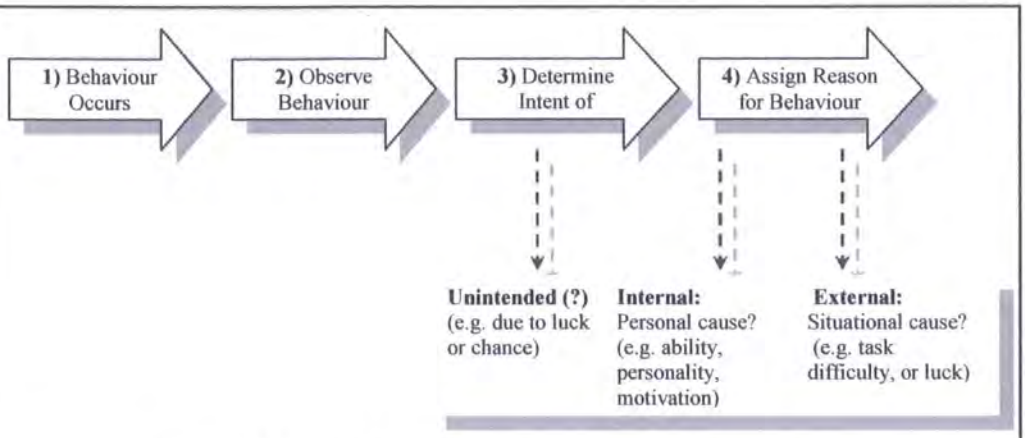

Figure 3.2-2 The Attribution Process (derived from Barnett, 1999) Study

Yet, people are in fact very poor scientists when it comes to *making* attributions of their own and other's behaviour (Hogg & Vaughan, 1998). Numeral studies concluded that, compared with professional scientists, laypeople are biased and make attributional biases and errors (Hewstone & Fincham, 2001). Jones and Nisbett claim that we all want to see ourselves as capable interpreters of human behaviour, and so we naively assume that simple explanations are better than complex ones (see Jones *et al.*, 1972), even when they are apparent defects of our lay explanations.

Thus, its been argued that instead of viewing people as naïve scientists we should consider that people make cognitive shortcuts (called heuristics) to make attributions (Hogg & Vaughan, 1998). More or less, almost all behaviour is a product of both personal[8] and situational[9] factors, furthermore our causal explanation tends to emphasise one or the other as a factor that can influence behaviour (Gross, 2001). Occasionally, the decision we make over what was responsible (the cause) for an observed behaviour (*internal/dispositional* attribution vs. *external/situational* attribution) of others can be inaccurate; this is due primarily to human biases (Barnett, 1999).

Research into sources of error and bias seems to provide a much more accurate account of how we actually make causal attributions, ether as actors or observers (Gross, 2001) of those lay explanations we provide. Although not objectively correct all the time, but they are generally satisfactory and adoptive (Hogg & Vaughan, 1998); biases are argued to be entirely adaptive characteristics of ordinary, everyday social perceptions (Ross & Nisbett, 1991) In this section we discuss some of the most important attribution biases.

a. Fundamental Attribution Error (FAE) - is the tendency to excessively make internal ('dispositional') attributions to others rather than external ('situational') (Ross & Nisbett, 1991). According to FAE, we generally lean to overestimate the importance of personal/dispositional factors relative to situational/environmental factors as causes of behaviour (Gross, 2001). For example, we may attribute a thief's behaviour to faulty personality (the cause is internal) rather than social circumstances (e.g. unemployment). So, we might fail to realize that the observed behaviour is distinctive to a particular situation.

b. Actor-Observer Effect (AOE) - (Jones & Nisbett, 1971) or termed as the Actor-Observer Differences (AOD) (Hewstone & Fincham, 2001) is the tendency to make internal attributions to others (i.e. the Fundamental Attribution Error as the cause) and external attributions to oneself (Jones *et al.*, 1972). According to AOE, as actors, we might be particular sensitive to those environmental events that lead us to do something. For example, a thief will blame society. But as observers of the same behaviour in other people, we are more likely to make attributions pointing to internal ('dispositional') (Gross, 2001). Based on the example given above, 'society will blame the thief'.

c. False Consensus Effect (FCE) - is the tendency to observe one's own behaviour as being more naturally than it actually is. According to FCE, as actors, we lean to see our behaviour as typical and assume that under similar circumstances others would behave in the same way (Hogg & Vaughan, 1998). For example, shoplifters might see their behaviour as common and assume that allot of people steal because they believe that shops or retailers can afford it.

d. Self-Serving Bias (SSB) - is the tendency to take credit for our successes on something internal ('self-enhancing bias'), which enchases our self esteem. However, we are more likely to blame or deny credit for our failures on something external (self-protecting bias), which protects our self-esteem (Gross, 2001; Hewstone & Fincham, 2001). Numerous studies have found that it 'is most pronounced when judging *negative* behaviours, and may be absent or even reversed for positive ones' (Gross, 2001, p. 346). For example, if a security officer apprehends a person who tried to steal a product, that turns out to be a success, he might attribute the outcome to his security expertise; but if the same process happened without him noticing him and the store realized that a specific product has gone missing then the security officer might attribute the outcome to the poor performance of electronic surveillance the store uses.

e. Group-Serving Bias (GSB) - (see Hewstone & Fincham, 2001) or as Intergroup Attribution in relation to a biases called the Ultimate Attribution Error (UAE) (see Hogg & Vaughan, 1998). Attribution biases here are influenced by group members. According to GSB or UAE, success

and more specifically frailer by members of 'in-group' and 'out-group' may receive quite different explanations; due to maintain and protect stereotypic properties of group membership (Hewstone & Fincham, 2001). This bias is, nevertheless, 'affected by the real or perceived nature of intergroup relation' (Hogg & Vaughan, 1998, p. 113). For example, there are two groups of shop thieves; members of one group (of boys) might say 'we are intelligent so we can avoid getting caught' and the other group (of girls) 'they are stupid, thus usually apprehended' a typical sex-stereotype attributions for performance.

This study considered above some of the best-known descriptive analysis of how we all actually compose attributional biases. According to Hewstone and Fincham (2001) we need to use informal ways and showing clear tendencies for certain sorts of explanations by considering more *descriptive* models of *how* perceivers actually make attributions. They claim that people tend to make attributions quickly, based often on very little information, and show clear tendencies to offer certain types of explanations for particular behaviours (Hewstone & Fincham, 2001). It is clear that laypeople are biased and make attributional biases and errors, by which we have noted for each of the biases above that there are triggered by two major classes of explanations for these apparent defects of lay explanations; motivational (or need) and cognitive (or informational) accounts. Motivational factors have an effect on information processing, and as researchers claim that even cognitive explanations actually contain motivational aspects too (Hewstone & Fincham, 2001). Thus, the above section discussed some of the most prominent attributional biases, both cognitive and motivational perspectives which are important for explaining bias.

Therefore, the idea that people frequently seek to locate the causes of their own and others' behaviour, in order to plan their own behaviour has, in some way revolutionised social psychology (Hogg & Vaughan, 1998). Attribution theory is one of the most well researched areas in social psychology, even though it has been argued that it is rather a set of conceptual frameworks (Hewstone, 1983). Attribution theory received more applied attention, in the area of personality psychology (see Anderson & Weiner, 1992), interpersonal psychology (see Hogg & Vaughan, 2002), clinical and health psychology (see Fincham, 1983), motivation (see Hewstone & Fincham, 2001), criminal and abnormal/antisocial behaviour (see Cullen *et al.*, 1985; Grasmick & McGill, 1994), consumer behaviour (see Chebat *et al.*, 1995; see Settle, 1973; Settle & Golden, 1974; Tripp *et al.*, 1994) and advertising research (Smith & Hunt, 1978; Sparkman & Locander, 1980).

Thus, extensive attribution literatures now exist in many applied areas (Hewstone & Fincham, 2001). According to Hewstone and Fincham, a key element in understanding the importance of attribution theory lies in the extent to which it lends itself to the analysis of the applied problem. However, the relation between the attribution models described earlier and applied research is often not straightforward (see Hewstone & Fincham, 2001 p. 221, for an excellent review of three reasons). They often remain implicit in analyses of applied problems (e.g. Jones & Davis or Kelley's principles), findings cannot be extrapolated to applied settings without further examination, and applied research has generated ideas that are not yet argued in attribution theory, which led to slightly different perspectives on some existing attribution ideas (Hewstone & Fincham, 2001).

By reviewing the main concepts of attribution theory above, which address the kind of information that people use to determine causality, the kinds of causes that they distinguish, and rules they use for going from information to inferred causes, as well as the systematic biases that characterize causal attributions, this study can apply research in the area of social sciences under the umbrella of attribution process framework. Thus, by adopting such an *attributional style* approach, labelled 'exploratory style' by some researchers (Hewstone & Fincham, 2001) to this study methodological instrument was in fact to provide a broader understanding on peoples causal attributions for TFS. As a result, this research provided subjects with the information about the behaviour (that is, *Why* a person may take an item from a store without paying for it. A person can be a customer, member of staff, or a construct employee working in a store) and the context in which it occurred (for example, statements such as: a person takes an item because they are seeking attention). Then the researcher asked the subjects to make inferences from the provided information (that is, attitude statements).

Manipulation of information provided (type of behaviour and conditions under which it occurred) enabled this research to investigate what inferences are made under a certain set of conditions. Furthermore, the way the subjects of this study used and combined available information to come to certain inferences (or attributions) was also mentioned. The review above presented one of the two main theoretical issues for this present research, based on social-psychological ideas, of social perceptions and representations by considering attribution approaches. Consistent with the theme introduced in this chapter, those perspectives feature mechanisms of attitude formation and changes, which is presented in the following section of this chapter.

3.3 Assessing Attitudes toward the Social Phenomenon

3.3.1 The Nature of Attitudes

An attitude cannot be touched, smelled nor seen; consequently cannot be directly measured, this is in comparison to many phenomena in the scenes of biology or chemistry; as a consequence social psychologists have enveloped many definitions, different approaches to understanding and a range of measurements of attitudes. According to Kerlinger (1984), 'attitude' is one of the great concepts of contemporary social science (cited in Hewstone, 1986, p. 57). Unquestionably, the notion of attitude is central to social psychology and some early theorists virtually defined the discipline as the scientific study of attitudes (see Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980; Allport, 1967, p. 3). An attitude is a shorthand term (Zelezny, 2002) underpinned by social (Gross, 2001 p.23) and psychological representations (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993). Attitudes are an important concept that helps people to understand their social world. They help us define how we perceive and think about others, their actions which can be ethical or unethical to us, as well as how we behave toward them. Many definitions exist that attempt to determine what exactly an attitude is.

Those definitions often include the component of enduring a positive or negative evaluation of an object which comes from our cognitive and social representations (see Gross, 2001) which links to the study of how we form impressions of and make inferences about other individuals. An object can be as simple as ourself, a person, a group of people, things, actions, situations, events, ideas, or issues (e.g. an attitude toward thievery may be stated as "I consider stealing to be a criminal offence"). Therefore, how is an individuals attitude formed towards an object? One of the most amazing features of human beings is that they can probably explain anything. Maybe it comes from us just naturally and has the proper explanation for such cause. Regardless of the cause, we have a strong need to understand and explain what is going on in our social world.

Because people must explain, it opens up some interesting influence possibilities. For example, if we *can* affect how other people understand and explain what is going on, we might be able to influence their attitudes, too. As, Oskamp (1977) has argued that the study of attitudes is an important part social science research for the reason that an attitude *may* be the cause of a person's behaviour (cited in Hewstone, 1986, p. 58). Earlier, this chapter explained the basic principles of how people explain things around them based on their knowledge and thoughts. At present, this study will consider describing how people's knowledge, beliefs and values about their own attitudes are formed, measured as well as changed. Attitudes are important since in virtually aspects of our social lives we continually seek to discover other people's attitudes, tell others of our views, and try to change another person's opinions.

Because of the centrality of attitudes in this research, some theories of attitude should be considered in this section (given that attitudinal judgment form the main part of the questionnaire used in this study). Thus, the following sub-sections deal with questions of definition, theories of attitude structure, functions of attitude and measurements.

3.3.1.1 Attitudes Definition

> 'Attitudes determine for each individual what he will see and hear, what he will think and what he will do.'
>
> (Allport, 1935)

Still, attitude research required a more specific and constrained definition than what Allport wrote, of which many were put forward (Hewstone, 1986, p.58). One of the most noted attitude researchers of our time, Martin Fishbein, states that,

> '...consistent evidence supporting the hypothesis that knowledge of an individual's attitude toward some object will allow one to predict the way he will behave with respect to that object.'
>
> (Fishbein, 1967*b*, p. 477)

This observation led Fishbein to create a model to predict consumer attitudes toward an object. He theorized that intentions are interposed as a mediating variable between attitudes and behaviour. However, it has been recognized that because behaviour is defined in terms of overall evaluation, knowledge of a person's attitude does not predict any specific behaviour (see Hewstone, 1986, p.59), which Fishbein and Ajzen found it ambiguous (see Fishbein & Ajzen, 1974*a*) and developed the expectancy-value approach as a general framework for understanding attitudes (see Eagly & Chaiken, 1993, for the structure of attitudes as a composite of value and expectancy). This has implications for the relationship between attitudes and behaviour which are discussed later in this chapter.

Nevertheless, in the present study an attitude research approach has been chosen. Although, attitude has numerous definitions, in general attitudes are considerably narrow, albeit more clearly defined, than social representations. Whereas social representations have been seen as a meaning of examining social knowledge, McGuire (1969) distinguishes attitudes from knowledge (Hewstone, 1986). In this view, an older study suggest that the definition of belief should be distinct from the definition of attitudes (Steiner & Fishbein, 1965). For example, you can ask a person to express an attitude on a subject about which they have never previously thought.

More recent definitions have been proposed in the literature. Zimbardo and Leippe (1991), for example, defines attitude as follows:

> '...an evaluative disposition toward some object. It's an evaluation of something or someone along a continuum of like-to-dislike or favourable-to-unfavourable...'
> (cited in Gross, 2001, p. 350)

Because attitudes can mean so many things to so many people, it is not surprising that social psychologists have entertained many definitions of attitude. Generally, there is a vast amount of literature on the attitude construct (for an overview, see Eagly & Chaiken, 1998), and there is no single definition with which all social scientists would agree too, however, a widely accepted conceptual definition of an attitudes is offered by Eagly and Chaiken, (1993) as:

> '...a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favour or disfavour," where "a psychological tendency refers to a state that is internal to the person" and "evaluating refers to all classes of evaluative responding, whether overt or covert, cognitive, affective, or behavioral.'
> (p. 1)

A "tendency" is not a certainty. It is instead an inclination, a proclivity, or a bias. When people believe that they have a positive attitude toward something or someone, then, they balance their thoughts, feelings, and actions toward that to be favourable, but not necessarily that *all* their thoughts, feelings, and actions are favourable (see Eagly & Chaiken, 1993, for more detail discussion on attitude as an evaluative tendency). Overall, a simple explanation can be that attitudes serve as an index of how we positively or negatively value and believe about some object in our modern environment (Petty & Cacioppo, 1981). Nonetheless, having defined attitudes, and clarified some of its qualities, this study can now turn a consideration of the structures and functions served by attitudes.

3.3.1.2 Structure and Function of Attitudes

As the term attitude is used to represent quite complex mental processes (Hewstone, 1986), many discrete contributions to attitude theory were developed. These can be conveniently organized into identifiable categories, for example, learning theory; cognitive consistency theory (variant of cognitive dissonance theory); and as examined earlier in attribution theory (see Fishbein, 1967*d,* for a variety of historical and contemporary approaches to attitude theory). The promise of such theories, to be examined in this chapter, is to go beyond the description of attitudes to discover and provide an explanation for the structure of attitudes.

Attitude is said to have three basic components (see Baron *et al.*, 1998; see Fishbein, 1965); the affective or emotional; the cognitive; and the behavioural (see figure 3.3-1), each of which constitutes one component of an attitude. According, to Rosenberg and Hovland's (1960) structural approach based on a 'three-component model' (Rosenberg & Hovland, 1960) argue that attitudes are predispositions to respond to some class of stimuli with certain classes of response.

These classes of response are; the cognitive component refers to knowledge or beliefs, perceptions a person has about the cause of TFS (for example, "the cause of a person taking an item from a store without paying for it is poverty."). Thus, here it concerns that someone experience as well as perceptions is that lack of money will cause someone to steal from a store. The affective component represents the persons overall emotions and feelings (denoting liking/disliking) regarding the cause of TFS (for example, "I believe that a person takes an item because they cannot afford it, therefore stealing is seen as a poverty offence"). The final component, the behavioural component, reflects behavioural tendencies to approach or avoid the attitude TFS (for example, "I would never take an item from a store because I do not have money"). The behavioural component can be also measured in terms of intention to behave in a positive way (see Rosenberg & Hovland, 1960, for a classic illustration of the tree-component view of attitudes). In addition, attitudes are often viewed as a multi-dimensional concept in the literature (Foxall, 1996). A multi-dimensional approach, however to attitude has not been taken by all academics scholars, since the exercise of one-factor solution to attitudes is considered (see Bohner, 2001).

A major problem with this multi-dimensional model was reported by the works of Ostrom (1969) and McGuire (1969), that the three components were highly intercorrelated (cited in Hewstone, 1986, p. 66). In addition, critics have also stated that the various dimensions of attitude may not always correlate with each other (see Gross, 2001, p.350). For example, by measuring only the affective and cognitive elements we might run into a situation where we overlook people's overt behaviour. Despite this, the multi-dimensional or multi-component view of attitudes is favoured by some researchers (see Foxall, 1993, 1996), as well as, influenced for an alternative viewpoint to the multi-component structure of attitudes (see Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975, that builds on the classic trichotomy).

The components of attitude are depicted in Figure 3.3-1, which implies that all three components of an attitude must be assessed for a complete description of an attitude (Hewstone, 1986). Since attitudes are generally mental predispositions to act, this means that attitudes are actually attached to mental categories. Mental orientations towards concepts are generally referred to as values (see Eagly & Chaiken, 1993).

Eagly and Chaiken (1993, p. 3) believe that attitudes can be viewed as 'evaluations of various objects that are stored in memory', as demonstrate in to the three component model in Figure 3.3-1.

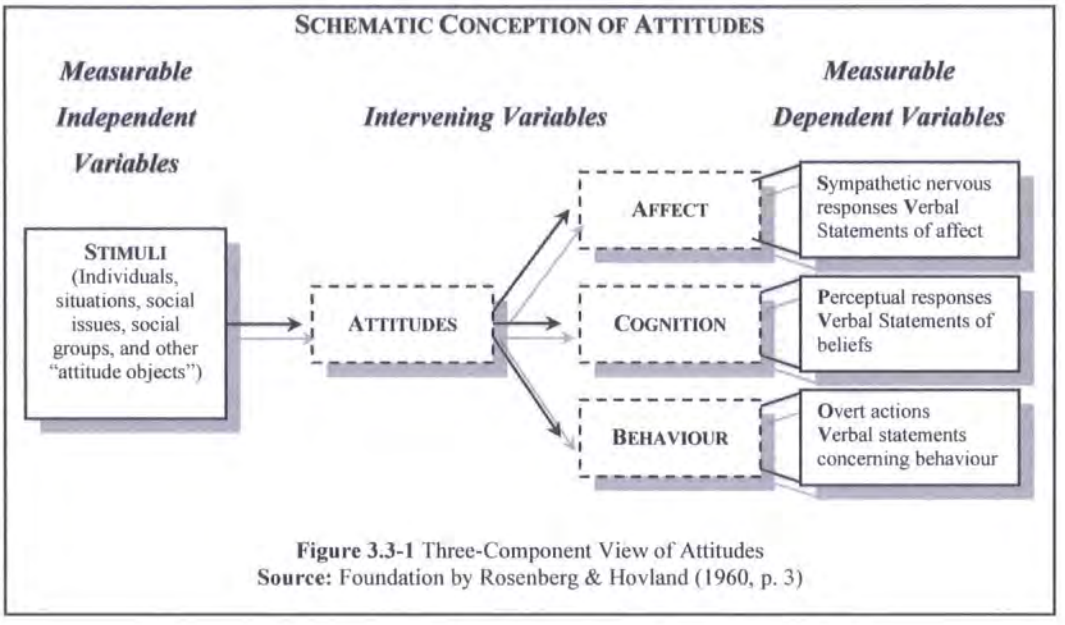

Figure 3.3-1 Three-Component View of Attitudes
Source: Foundation by Rosenberg & Hovland (1960, p. 3)

People are also known to be heavily influenced in beliefs about their attitudes by memories of their own past actions toward the attitude object (see Eagly & Chaiken, 1993). This influence of remembered past actions provides the foundation of cognitive dissonance theory (Festinger, 1957) and self-perception theory (Bem, 1972), with both continue to stimulate research (Bohner, 2001). According to cognitive dissonance theory, people are motivated to revise their beliefs about their own attitudes when they recall taking actions that were dissonant with what they had previously assumed were their attitudes (Festinger, 1957). Previous research present results that imagining oneself in a behavioural scenario affects expectations about one's own behavior, but imagining another person enacting the same behaviours does not (Anderson & Weiner, 1992; Anderson & Godfrey, 1987).

Bem's (1972) self-perception theory went even further in questioning the importance of attitudes. For him, the key issue was whether people even know their own attitudes prior to inferring them after they have engaged in behaviour. Arguing from a radical behaviourist position, Bem conceived of an attitude as 'nothing but' a person's self-description of a dike or dislike (Hewstone, 1986, p. 65).

Yet other research has shown reliably that people's implicit theories about the temporal consistency of their attitudes and other attributes can lead them to rewrite their own histories in memory (Greenwald, 1980; Ross, 1989). They tend to recall selectively past behaviours that are consistent rather than inconsistent with what they believe their current attitudes to be. Because people engage in a biased review of their past attitude-relevant actions, recalling one's personal history with an attitude object can also increase the relationship between a currently held attitude and future behavior (Ross *et al.*, 1981).

Considering such theories for the structure of attitudes together, one must agree that if peoples slant beliefs and values about their own attitudes in the direction of whatever thoughts, feelings, and actions happen to be salient at the moment then it seems possible that any actions that come to mind might influence reported attitudes, even if those actions occurred only in false memories (Ajzen *et al.*, 1995). Therefore, an attitude can be thought of a combination of our beliefs and values, and is based upon our knowledge and experiences (Gross, 2001, p. 351). According to Ajzen, beliefs represent the knowledge or information we have about the world (although these may be inaccurate or incomplete) and form our attitudes (Ajzen, 2002b). This research was also designed to provide a final discussion of this possibility.

Since, attitudes are regarded as important influence on our behaviour, there is still a long-standing controversy concerning the relationship between attitude and observable behaviour. La Pierre (1934) and Wicker's (1969) studies of attitude behaviour consistency raise issue of what is the point of measuring attitudes at all. But, if measured properly and taking 'intervening factors' into account, correlations improve significantly (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975), a prompt which attract various social sciences research (see Ajzen, 2002b; Lord, 2004). In addition, since attitude can provide clues to future behaviour (see Fishbein, 1967*b*), predicting how we will act when encountering the objects of our beliefs and values (Fishbein, 1967*a*) might offer the present, as well as future studies with possible clues (argued in the final Chapter).

However, attitudes not always assumed to influence and guide behaviour (reviewed by Eagly & Chaiken, 1993; Eagly & Chaiken, 1998). For example, some people's thoughts about an attitude object, for instance, tend to be more favourable than their feelings, and vice-versa (Rosenberg, 1968). When thoughts and feelings about an attitude object are discrepant rather than congruent in valence, it becomes more difficult to predict from the overall attitudes that people report to specific actions that they might take (Norman, 1975). At an even more general level, the concept of attitude relates to some of the broadest and most serious social issues in our society, for example the problem of criminal behaviour towards a particular individual can be influenced by general; attitudes that are held about groups of people.

To clarify the discussion here, the term stereotype is used to express perception of people, belonging to the stereotyped group. Overall, attitudes provide us with ready-made reactions to and interpretations of events, just as other aspects of our cognitive 'equipment' do, such as schemas (e.g. our knowledge is stored in memory as simplified mental representation of objects and events that we use to interpret new experiences) and stereotypes (e.g. generalisation) (Gross, 2001). Stereotypes are important for most of us, and are central in daily life as well.

However, not all attitudes serve the same function. Another approach to attitudes was recommended by psychodynamic psychologists such as Katz (1960), suggests that the well being of an individual is promoted by attitudes serving four functions (see Table 3.3-1). Basically, Katz believes that attitudes serve both conscious and unconscious motives. In other words, the central idea behind his functional approach is that attitudes help a person to mediate between their own inner needs (expression, defence) and the outside world (social and information) (cites in Gross, 2001, p.351). However, there are also criticisms of the functional approach, which can appear vacuous if it claims that all attitudes held fulfil specific functions (see Bohner, 2001). To date, contemporary attitudes theories have devoted more time and attention to matters of structure than maters of function (Ajzen, 2001).

KATZ'S FUNCTIONAL APPROACH OF ATTITUDES

Knowledge Function	We seek a degree of predictability, consistency and stability in our prediction of the world. Attitudes give meaning and direction to experience, providing frames of reference for judging events, objects and people.
Adjustive Function	We obtain favourable responses from others by displaying socially acceptable attitudes, so they become associated with important rewards. These attitudes may be publicly expressed, but not necessarily believed, as is the case with *compliance*.
Value-expressive Function	We achieve self-expression through cherished values. The reward may not be gaining social approval, but confirmation of the more positive aspect of our self-concept, especially our sense of personal integrity
Ego defensive Function	Attitudes help protect us from admitting personal deficiencies. For example, *prejudice* helps us to sustain our self-concept by maintaining a sense of superiority over others. Ego defence often means avoiding and denying self-knowledge. This function comes closest to being unconscious in a Freudian sense.

Table 3.3-1 Four Major Functions of Attitudes, Based on Katz, (1960)
Source: Cited in Gross (2001, p. 351)

The structural (that is, Rosenberg & Hovland's Model) approach and the functional (that is, Katz's Model) approach to understanding attitudes are like two sides of the same coin. Neither approach on its own provides a full picture. Which approach you focus on depends on what interest you have in attitudes (Ajzen, 2001). For example, much of the measurement of attitudes has focussed on the affective component from the structural approach. This is because it is simple to measure, gives a good summary of an attitude and is often a good predictor of behaviour (Bohner, 2001).

By contrast, the functional approach may be important if you are interested in trying to change attitudes. To change a person's attitudes the approach should match the function (Ajzen, 2001), for example, an attitude serving a knowledge function is most likely to be changed by showing the person, the appropriate information. However, an approach as a theory of attitude change was largely been taken over by Fishbein and Ajzen (1975), expectancy theory of attitudes (cited in Hewstone, 1986), which is now briefly introduced (and discussed in Chapter Five).

Following some of the early work of attitudes just reviewed (that is, Katz, Rosenberg & Hovland's work), Fishbein and Ajzen envisaged the structure of attitudes as a composite of value (that is, the evaluation of the goals or attributes related to the attitude object) and expectancy (that is, the subjective probability that the attitude object is associated with, in favour of, or actually bringing about these goals or attributes). They proposed that attitudes are function of beliefs about the attitude object and evaluative aspect of these beliefs. To predict an attitude, the value and expectancy components associated with each attributed are multiplied together, and these products are summed. Thus, the overall attitude can be represented as single algebraic quantity:

$$A_O = \sum_{i=1}^{n} b_i e_i \qquad \textit{Equation 3.1}$$

Source: By Fishbein and Ajzen (1975), and cited in Hewstone (1986)

Where: A_O is the attitude towards some object O; b_i is belief i about O (that is, the subjective probability that O is related to attribute i); e_i is the evaluation of attribute i; and n is the number of beliefs. It is clear from Equation 3.1, that the evaluation of each attribute contributes to the overall attitudes in proportions to the person's subjective probability that the object has the attribute in question. This model of the way information is integrated to form an attitude raise the interesting possibility that people holding different beliefs may have the same attitudes, because attitudes are based on the total set of the person's salient beliefs and the evaluations associated with those beliefs.

If the same beliefs are held with different strength, or if evaluations of the attributed differ, attitudes will also be different. Conversely, if different beliefs are held with the same strength and they have identical values, then the same attitudes will result (Hewstone, 1986, p. 69-70). Despite the popularity attracted to the attitude literature of their approach, unavoidably there have also been criticisms, as there were with the other approaches reviewed earlier (see Hewstone, 1986, for criticisms concerns- not specific to the expectancy-value approach)

3.3.1.3 Measurement of Beliefs and Attitudes

Measuring an attitude is not an easy task, since attitudes cannot be observed directly (Hogg & Vaughan, 2002), because their *hypothetical construct* (Gross, 2001). Their existence can only be inferred from overt responses or indicators (Himmelfarb, 1993). Consequently, to find adequate attitude indicators and most methods of attitude measurement are based on the assumption that they can be measured by people's beliefs or opinions about the attitude object (Gross, 2001). Researchers on the other hand rely heavily on asking people (*self-report methods*) in order to measure something that is in a person's mind and often use attitude questionnaires or scales, usually taking the form of standardised statements (or items) which denote the sum total of an attitude about the specific topic being measured. Such questionnaires or scales have assumptions in common, considering that the same statement have the same meaning for all respondents, so that a given response is scored identically for everyone making it, and, more fundamentally, that subjective attitudes when expresses verbally, can be measured by a quantitative technique, so that each person's belief or opinion can be represented by a numerical score. However, Hogg and Vaughan, argue that such assumptions may not always be justified, and implications should always be treated warily (see Gross, 2001; Hogg & Vaughan, 1998; see Hogg & Vaughan, 2002).

Beliefs and attitudes are highly subjective notions (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975) and past studies indicate difficulties in developing reliable and valid measurement items for these constructs (Parmenter & Wardle, 2000). For example, Parmenter and Wardle (2000), report that problems such as vagueness in terminology, respondent knowledge gaps and respondent bias constrained their survey. It has been argued that it is essential to identify the component being measured (see Likert, 1967; Thurstone, 1967*a*). Because the study of attitudes has been an active part for social science research for along time, a various well-developed scales exists for measuring attitudes. Several different paper-and-pencil tests have been developed, but there are at least four different techniques that have been refined and uses extensively to measure attitudes. These are discussed in more detail in the methodology section (see Chapter Four).

In brief, the scales to measure beliefs and attitudes are the Thurston's method of equal-appearing intervals (1928), the Likert's method of summated ratings (1932), the Guttmann's scalorgram method, and the Osgood's semantic differential (1957). Occasionally, attitudes are generally measured by a single statement which asks people to make a positive or negative evaluation about a specific topic, usually on a five point self-rating scale from strongly agree to strongly disagree (Gross, 2001; Hogg & Vaughan, 2002). Consider the example of a 5-point self-rating scale in Figure 3.3-2.

Still, Likert's methods is one of the most popular standard attitude scale, because it's more statistically reliable, relative to other scales (Gross, 2001). Moreover such a method to measure an attitude is typically favoured by many researchers coming from various disciplines (see Bristow & Mowen, 1998*a;* Fukukawa, 2002; Mitsostergios & Skiadas, 1994; see Park *et al.*, 2003; Roberts & Hough, 2002).

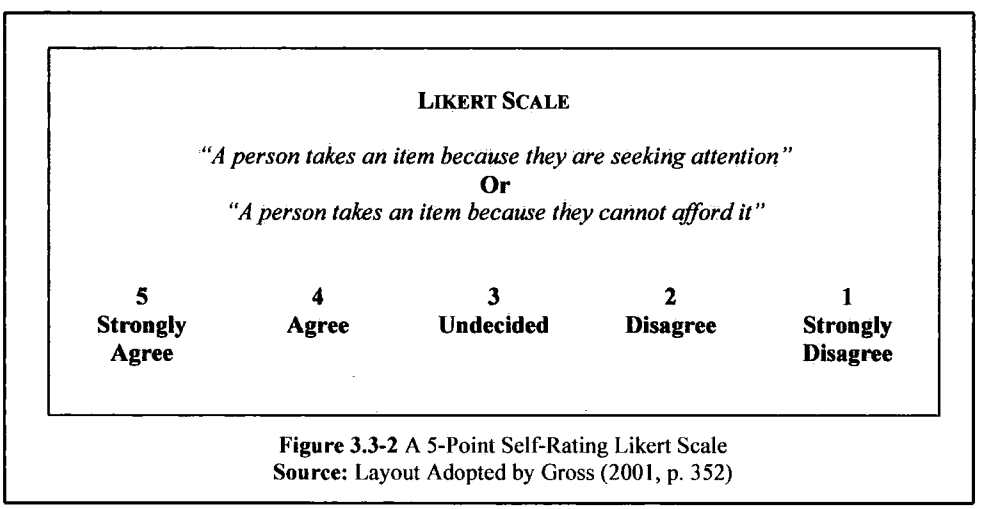

Figure 3.3-2 A 5-Point Self-Rating Likert Scale
Source: Layout Adopted by Gross (2001, p. 352)

At present this study has outlined the attitude instrument and measurement. An attitudinal survey which measured attitudes towards an object (what are the *causes* that trigger people to steal). Specifically, this study measures knowledge and experiences about the causes, in order to identify their perceived beliefs about such causes, since, people are capable of perceiving the world in causes and effect terms.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter a considerable body of research has been done in the relationship between attitudes and behaviour (Gross, 2001; Hogg & Vaughan, 2002). Ajzen and Fishbein (1980) developed a model that identifies the attitudinal factor affecting specific behaviours, called the Theory of Reasoned Action (see Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980, for discussion on their model; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975). Their theories has had a major impact in the attitude-behaviour literature (Ajzen, 2002a).

Therefore, while, attitudes toward an object are usually expected to relate to behaviours toward the object, it has been also argued that people's attitudes can be irrelevant to their behaviours (Hogg & Vaughan, 2002). According to Hogg and Vaughan (1998) attitude toward an object may not always have a direct relationship with any single behaviour. Thus, general attitudinal measures (such as those examined in the present study) should predict only broad behavioural patterns, but not specific behavioural act.

3.3.2 Marketing Applications: Strategies

While the preceding section dealt with attitude formation and measurers in general, one can also make a number of more specific accounts about changing attitudes. It has been argued that attitudes can be changed over time (Lord, 2004). Attitude change is the primary goal of marketing strategies, targeting consumer behaviour (Budden & Griffin, 1996). However, how about the dark negative side of the consumer or perhaps more appropriate termed consumer misbehaviour (Fullerton & Punj, 2004*a*)? Despite, the fact that such criminal behaviour is potentially harmful to businesses, effects *all* consumers and the society as a whole (as discussed in Chapter One), little marketing academic interest has been generated (see Albers-Miller, 1999). Marketing scholars have begun to explore in greater depth issues of consumer misdeeds (see Budden & Griffin, 1996). Albers-Miller (1999) argues that;

> '...illicit goods are illegal goods, freely chosen by customer. An illicit purchase would be one where the product sold and purchased was offered illegally – being either illegally produced (counterfeit) or illegally obtained (stolen).'
>
> (p. 274)

The management of consumer misbehaviour is an important issue (Fullerton & Punj, 2004*a*). According to Fullerton and Punj, marketing practitioners have long wrestled with the problem of controlling misbehaviour by customers. For example, an extensive arsenal of techniques including a variety of high technology deterrents devices has been tried (discussed in Chapter Two, questioning their effectiveness). Currently, different marketing approaches toward the management of consumer misbehaviour are in use (Fullerton & Punj, 2004*a*).

Usually, most efforts by marketers are focused to change people's attitudes toward this type of behaviour. How then, could one attempt to change attitudes toward theft behaviour against businesses? (Discussed again in Chapter Five). By sharing the view of Eagle and Chaiken's that theories of persuasion should posses obvious applies value for the design of information campaigns (see Eagly & Chaiken, 1993, p. 627-661). Marketing and illicit consumption studies can lead to more "responsible" marketing practices (Budden & Griffin, 1996), and inform legitimate business marketing and the development of social issue campaigns. For example, because illicit behaviour is harmful to legitimate businesses, managers should consider information campaigns for strict enforcement of criminal sanction against consumers who practice illicit activity within their businesses. Thus a possibility is making the dangers more overt via shocking imagery. For example, an anti-smoking advert can spotlight on death images for shocking consumers. Obviously, effective marketing strategies are based on attitude change (Hewstone, 1986).

As stated earlier in this chapter, people's attitude toward an object is determined by a person's salient beliefs that the object possesses certain attributes and by peoples' evaluations of those attributes (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975, p. 396). Having opted for an expectancy-value analysis of attitudes (discussed earlier) it is consistent to explore the implications of such approach as a theory of attitude change. This study considers Fishbein and Ajzen's claims of attitude change (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975). According to their expectancy-value model of attitude (A) is viewed as determined by the sum of a person's silent beliefs about an object's attributes (b), multiplied by his or her evaluation (e) of these attributes (i.e. $A = \Sigma b_i e_i$). If follows that attitudes will only be changed in a more positive direction when the persuasion attempts in summed expected-value products that are more positive than the summed products prior to the influence attempt.

Thus, any attitude change requires a change in information based underlying attitudes. Attitudes could be changed by altering one or more of the existing salient beliefs, by introducing a new salient belief, or by changing an individuals evaluations of the objects attributes. There are thus two possible ways of influence attempts; beliefs about the attitude object and/or attribute evaluation (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975). According to Fishbein and Ajzen, the most commonly used strategy is to direct the influence attempt to target beliefs which assumed to be primarily determents of attitude. However, the impact of this influence attempt will depend on evaluations of the attribute linked to the belief, since they propose change of attribute evaluations associated with a salient belief about the attitude object. Adding a new salient belief to the existing beliefs that consumers have about an object is probably the most common attitude change strategy in the past (Lutz, 1975; Mitchell, 1986), as well as today (Ratneshwar *et al.*, 2000).

Hence, this strategy will be discussed in detail in the final chapter. However, the major problem underlying attitude change is in identifying the primary beliefs responsible for a given attitude. Fishbein and Ajzen (1975) have resolved this problem quite easily. They argue that

> '...any belief that associates the attitude object with some other object, concept, or property and that is part of the person's salient belief hierarchy constitutes a primary belief. It is important to note that the object of the primary beliefs is expected the same as the object of the attitude which is to be changed.'
>
> (p. 396)

However, this theory has some limitations. Fishbein and Ajzen (1975, p. 397) gave an example about an attempt to change attitudes toward communism. Salient beliefs link communism to such attributes as totalitarian government, socialism, and lack of freedom. These salient beliefs are primary beliefs about communism and would therefore constitute appropriate target beliefs. If the above attributes are associated with a particular communist country, however, they no longer serve as primary beliefs with respect to attitudes toward communism. Indeed, the set of attributes might be completely unrelated to the individual's primary beliefs about communism. It is noteworthy that even appropriate target beliefs may represent only part of the primary beliefs determining a given attitude.

In addition to the strategies described above, other attitude change strategies are available in the consumer behavior literature. For example, (a) cognitive consistency theory or cognitive dissonance theory, (b) information processing theory, (c) cognitive response theory, and (d) the Theory of Reasoned Action (TRA). First, the cognitive consistency theory suggests that creating an imbalance among the cognitive, affective, and behavioral components of attitude change attitudes. Basically, the idea underlying this theory is that consumers tend to be consistent in their beliefs, attitudes, and behavior. Thus, any inconsistency acts as a stimulus to change the balance. Second, information processing theory suggests that attitude change occurs via the provision of information. This theory is both widely used and relatively effective (Ariely, 2000). In an interesting paper, Ariely (2000) examines how information processing affects consumers' decision making and preferences. He argues that new technological developments in computers and networks have not only caused significant changes in consumer information processing, but also allowed marketers to integrate marketing and communication processes via the Internet (see Ariely, 2000, for a deeper analysis of information processing theory) (and see Garbarino & Edell, 1997). Third, cognitive response theory is related to information-processing theory, but differs in one respect: it emphasizes the active response to information (Biel, 1996).

3.4 Application of the Theoretical Approach

3.4.1 The Research Strategy of the Study

Attribution theory has offered important methodological foundations for this thesis in order to construct its procedural instrument for the mass investigation. Therefore, drawing from literature review around TFS (Chapter Two) and attribution assumption, this study reported on an exploratory study that surveys attitudes toward the cause(s) of why a person takes an item from a store without paying for it, by which its participants were required to state what they perceive to be the cause. This study's theoretical approach provided a methodological foundation for exploring the reactions of people's beliefs and perceptions toward the causes projected to them, in order to capture a grounded understanding of attitudes toward TFS. Usually, the volume of the work around this study's research area has confined itself to the accumulation of intellectual explanations. Thus, the incentive was to explore whether the general public who are surrounded by them in their everyday life, consider such explanations to be the *true* cause of the behaviour.

It is a study that is interested in the "perceived" cause, of what they believed was responsible for the behaviour. Also, insights into how the subject rated their level of agreement on the potential cause of the actions of others were recorded and in the course of that process, and light has coincidentally been shed on the differences of causal explanation from the participants. The cause for a particular action is frequently a verbal statement made by an individual when asked a question by a third party, such as *why* did a person take an item from a store without paying for it? In answering the question beliefs, perceptions and personal experiences of the individual doing the explaining are often reflected in the type of explanation offered within the society the person lives. Such explanations are easily seen to be primarily social constructions with clear purposes and functions for the person doing the explaining.

As expected based on the literature review and theoretical assumptions, some finding were well received. Among major findings it was observed that some demographics were statistically significant (seen in Chapter Four). For example, the low level of public attitudes toward the potential causes of TFS was perceived. Although even if this investigation which beyond doubt comes under a psychological examination it will not perform on human sensations, by means deliberately creating situations with laboratory studies, however it did have to deliberately create situations with field studies by which ethical issues still arise to such setting. It has been argued that humans aren't just sentient; they're also thinking beings. This means that situations that aren't literally or physically dangerous it may still be experienced as threatening, stressful, offensive, embarrassing, or may evoke feelings of guilt, inadequacy or incompetence (see Coolican, 1999). This study considers the ethical realm which is explained in Chapter Four.

Accordingly, this study tried to escape the ethical problem for the way in which the questionnaire could be phrased by considering the theoretical issues of attribution theory. Parallel use of this approach has be also been previously applied to assist the research and analysis other applied researched social problems (e.g. surveys on policy development, political movements, racial stereotypes, gay rights, poverty, etc.)(see Bobo, 1988; see Bobo & Hutchings, 1996; Lee *et al.*, 1990; Ruiz & Miguel, 2005; Wood & Bartkowski, 2004), it has also been identifies in criminal research in general (see Cullen, 1994; Cullen *et al.*, 1985; Flanagan, 1987; see Grasmick & McGill, 1994), as well as in consumer research to investigate and analysis of consumer emotions and cognitions (see Chebat *et al.*, 1995).

Specifically, the avoidance of blame and the accumulation of personal credit, with similar problematic subjects that sometimes are difficult to account with, and that in real-life situations ethical issues arise on sensitive topics such as individuals explaining theft behaviour. This research deliberately created a situation (the event) intended for the exploring the causes of TFS, to avoid the participant in anyway experience embarrassment, guilt, and so on. Thus based on its theoretical approach, the answers were projected, reflecting on various types of explanation into particular statements (ether known or unknown to them). It is presumed to elicit scientific statements of "causality" that is independent from participant doing the explaining. For instance, various reasons of *why a person take an item from a store without paying for it* were seen as scientific statements, for example, a person takes an item because they are seeking attention. From this scientific viewpoint, different theories from different disciplines offered particular explanations as to the causal account; that is, the explanation represented the state of knowledge rather than the state of the explainer.

Unfortunately, we sometimes lose sight of the distinction between causal accounts that are socially functional, and those which are scientifically functional, and the two become intermingled. Moreover, the three different groups of the population were required to indicate the extent to which they either "agree" or "disagree" that it may be a cause (or reason) *why* a person takes an item from a store without paying for it. In other words, the study assumed that the reasons given in the survey provided a shortcut to discovering the *perceived* causes of theft behaviour, refer to what they *believe* is responsible for the behaviour. Among some major results, which are discussed in Chapters Four and Five, suggest that specific public segments hold significant views toward the causes of TFS.

Till today programs and strategies are based on assumptions that yet it may be true, but the cause(s) for this type of criminal behaviour against businesses are not always clear to the key stakeholders who are either affected and/or interested for a healthier businesses environment. Based on the final finding, this study provides a promising tool in TFS reduction, since it was initially questioned whether the key stakeholders have sufficient understanding of TFS causes in order to design strategies effectively. As Cox (1993) argued, TFS strategies can make little progress until they (specifically talk about retailers) can more fully understand it causes, they may have greater success in their strategies to discourage it. This study sought to expand key stakeholders understanding of the causes of theft behaviour in general, and offer some broad and tentative implications for control strategies. To summarize, it order for this study to develop a grounded understanding on the causes of TFS, the study of attitudes was an important part of its investigation. Attribution theory offers this study its theoretical approach which allowed to;

- Reveal how the social perceiver selects and uses information to arrive at causal explanations or judgements for any events (that is, behaviour);
- Compliment the attitudinal statements (that is, attribution style questionnaire) of the survey used in the study;
- Explore peoples beliefs of the 'perceived cause' of TFS behaviour;
- Reveal what the key stakeholders (that, is the representative sample of this study) believe causes TFS;
- Provide clues as to how they themselves might behaviour, and means of attitude change;
- Provide a clue as to the motivations behind those beliefs and behaviours ;
- Reveal particular patterns from causal inference;
- Offer a way of determining what countermeasures might work. Remember based in the literature mentioned earlier in this chapter, it is the *perceived* cause(s) that may influence behaviour more than the *actual* cause(s) itself.

Particularly, this chapter discussed its theoretical approach, by which was taken as a blueprint for this study's empirical investigation, in order to *measure* attitudes to reveal what different groups of its representative sample believes causes TFS to be true. And thus to provide possible clues as to how they themselves might behave, since it has been argued by Oskamp (1977), that the study of attitudes is an important part of social science research for four general reasons, which one of them is that an attitude *may* be the cause of a person's behaviour.

3.5 Study's Main Suggestions

3.5.1 Research Predictions

Based on this study's research questions, specific predictions are put forward. This study proposes various assumptions supported on data relationships expected to occur between measured variables in this investigation contained within three research questions seen in the following Chapter. Yet, this study proposes that

RQ_1

P_1

Because key stakeholders have different perceptions and experiences of TFS, differences will be anticipated in attitudes toward the causes of TFS proposed by academics.

P_2

Because of individual differences in socio-demographic background, differences will be anticipated in attitudes toward the causes of TFS proposed by academics between persons from different sectors of demographic groupings.

RQ_2

P_3

Because of the differences proposed in P_1 *to* P_2*, it will be anticipated that the types of explanation favoured by stakeholders will cluster in a manner that is not concurrent with the types of explanation clustered by academics.*

RQ_3

P_4

Because of the differences anticipated in P_1 *to* P_3*, the strategies adopted to counter TFS are being driven by the attitudes of a particular group rather than the attitudes of various key stakeholders.*

Thus, the propositions listed above will assist future research and the aim being to achieve an *understanding*, and not merely a description of lay attitudes toward the causes of stealing, but also a theoretical explanation. This study illustrates its connecting research questions in the next Chapter of the research process, given that the researcher had to initially make careful detailed *research predictions* after the Thesis literature review in order for other followers concerned with this specific topic could attempt to understand this research approach or even to challenge it, would have a clear opportunity to do so.

3.6 Review of the Literature

3.6.1 Summary and Conclusions

The literature review was done in two phases. In phase one, i.e. Chapter Two, outlined the current criminal trend in our industrial markets and highlighted the extensive review from various disciplines of the relevant literature. Chapter Two ended up with a critique on previous studies around attitudes and reactions toward the crime of theft against businesses. In phase two, i.e. Chapter Three, the primary objective was to review the area of the attributional and attitudinal literature which appeared to be firm theoretical foundations from a social psychological approach to the study of people's attitudes. Chapter Three illustrated the *process* of those descriptive thoughts that a person has about something or someone, relying on their own beliefs and values. Thus, this study's representative sample respond towards the causes of TFS projected to them in a favourable or unfavourable way. This Chapter also discussed the formation of attitudes and presented the different techniques for measurement. Moreover, the chapter discussed different attitude change strategies, and concluded the discussion of attitude change by outlining some basic principles relating to attitude change.

The primary aim of Chapter Three was to introduce how people activated beliefs, knowledge and experiences, in order to form some sort of perception, as the basic factor underlying their attitudes. Moreover, the chapter showed that the resulting attitudes are very sensitive to particular factors in the environment. In general, both literature review chapters (i.e. Chapter Two and Three) were designed as narrative of the researcher's decision process. Moreover, there appear to be firm methodological foundations for an appropriate theoretical approach to this study on attitudes toward the causes of TFS. Since this study developed a penetrating review of mass causes of TFS and presented them towards three groups of the population that play an increasingly important *role* in crimes against businesses, resulted that there remain almost little and diverse awareness among such social phenomenon.

This chapter discusses its theoretical approach, by which was taken as a blueprint for this study's empirical investigation, in order to *measure* attitudes to reveal what different groups of its representative sample believes causes TFS to be true. To summarize, Chapter One has revealed the aims, objectives, and the scope of this research. Chapters Two have identified the theoretical framework. This chapter had defined the rationale and design process of this research in order to clarify it methodological foundation. Therefore, the previous two chapters including this one have shown the order of the subject area and an understanding of the problem, to justify this research topic, design and methodology. The following chapter will defend it's empirically based research in order to follow for further interpretation of the data and the use made of its research findings.

4

Abductive Reasoning of Thievery: Attributions of Crime Causation Analysis

4.1 Exploring Phenomenological Research

'...man's truth is never absolute because the basis of fact is hypothesis.' (cited in Fischer 2001, writings of Charles Sanders Peirce 1982-93, vol. I, p. 7)

'The general public's causal attributions of crime is a nascent area of research.' (see also Flanagan, 1987, p. 242)

Chapter Four provides the design and process of this empirical research, in order to demonstrate the appropriateness of the techniques used to gather data and the methodological approaches employed. This chapter also presents three research questions being formulated on the basis of the body of relevant theft from store (TFS) literature (as of Chapters Two and Three), which serve as a theoretical support for the subsequent empirical stage of this research. Relevant research literature is used to develop an understanding of data-collection techniques and methodological implications. Building upon the conceptual framework developed thus far, this chapter seeks to validate that framework via a systematic process of empirical research.

The chapter will detail the methodological standpoints, including a discussion of the basic research focus and research design, the sampling and data collection, as well as the statistical techniques used to explore the results. Methodologically this study follows an abductive research approach, together with its exploratory research strategy. Hence, the objective of this chapter was to consider its strategic research techniques in order to facilitate and justify the collection of this study's survey data, which consequently served as a basis for the implementation and the analysis of such research material. The reliability and the validity of the data and the quality of the final instrument used are considers in this Chapter in order for validating its definitive framework. Finally, the ethical and logistical considerations are discussed with a summary of this study's empirical standpoints.

4.1.1 Purpose of the Survey Methodology

The purpose of this phenomenological study is to develop a detailed understanding of TFS and its causes. Therefore, this study used a methodology to understand such crime phenomenon and uncover causal attribution (similar to that in Flanagan, 1987) from the victim's viewpoint (recommended by Hentig, 1948). As stated in Chapter One, the main interest (objectives) of this study has been to investigate key stakeholders attitudes towards the multiple *causes* of TFS. Because a concern has been voiced about limited data of TFS in a broader spectrum, this study examines more than just apprehended participants (as suggested by Cox *et al.*, 1990). An individual testimony technique, driven from a public survey, was chosen to broaden such an understanding in the motives of this common and normal type of criminal behaviour.

Thus, this study's method of investigating the social problem in a wider aspect of social cohesion avoids some of the limitations of studies utilizing either apprehended offenders (usually adolescents) or business practitioners. Those studies often only contain partial information, since it was demonstrated in earlier chapters that only a small proportion of TFS offenders are caught. As cited in Chapter One and Two, critics of those common approaches used so far have pointed to the problem of underreporting (one must be caught and then formally processed). Additionally, another drawback as discussed in Chapter Two is that various studies only look at TFS from a specific and limited perspective. Therefore, utilising a methodological framework (Figure 4.1-1) helped this research to develop a more comprehensive and systematic understanding of TFS in general. Directed by Leaver's (1993) study, the potential prevention strategies might be through the shoppers themselves, retailers and through the control systems attitudes.

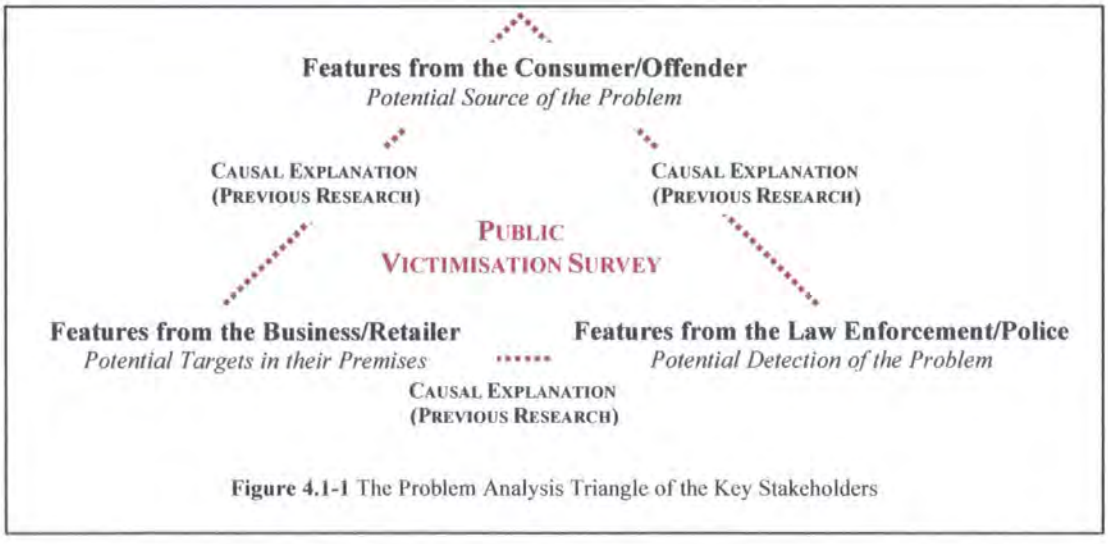

Figure 4.1-1 The Problem Analysis Triangle of the Key Stakeholders

The problem analysis triangle (PAT) was purposely adapted to develop a framework for understanding public victimization patterns. PAT has been used in problem-oriented policing projects, to define underlying problems business crime (see Burrows *et al.*, 1999; Burrows & Ingram, 1999; Leigh *et al.*, 1996), and in crime patterns, in order to understand why some businesses types are victimised more that others (see Hopkins, 2002). Typically, those PAT studies strongly suggest that in order to understand particular business crime problems we should break the problem into three elements. Specifically, they suggest components driven from the features of the victim, features of the 'position', and features of the offender. This current study adapted a parallel method with its own framework in order to investigate attitudes towards the wider aspect of social coherent concerned or affected by TFS. Therefore, the PAT established in Figure 4.1-1, was customised and implemented to attain the source of the problem, by the features from the consumers that may promote the problem (*offender*), features from the business that may be targets (*victim*), and finally features from the law enforcers that may deter the problem (*position*).

Subsequently, hypotheses were formulated, drawn from the body of the literature covering past TFS research and the methodological framework discussed above. That allows this study to explore, with a multi-item survey, what different sectors of the population actually attribute TFS and to what extent are these attributes (dependent variables) compatible with academic explanations. The dependent variables (e.g. the attitude score) included measures of individual or internal causes. That is, a person may take an item because of who they are. Secondly, the external causes include why a person may take an item because of conditional reasons. Finally the external causes include why a person may take an item because of circumstantial reasons. These issues will be covered in detail later in this chapter as a matrix form. Additionally, this chapter introduces some of the most important demographic classification findings of the multi-item survey respondents.

Statistically significant potential differences are then identified in attitudes between groups and their level of agreement. This is supported by a series of statistical tests that measured those potential differences in attitudes between groups using the various independent variables that the study used for grouping purposes. Furthermore, this chapter analytically explores how those attitudes cluster into types of explanations. The research questions are presented first, before detailing the empirical research. The three research questions shown below were formulated on the basis of the extant literature to serve as a foundation for the subsequent empirical stage of the present research programme.

4.1.2 Research Questions Raised

Based on the review of the literature, three critical research questions were investigated in the context of this study's research propositions, proposed earlier in Chapter Three. The questions were analysed by using beliefs, perceptions, and experiences of the samples attitudes in order to reveal what key group of the population believes to be the 'true' cause(s) with respect to existing explanations. Therefore, by maintaining a research focus upon the various projected causes of TFS revealed by the relevant literature, three theoretical questions are posed. The first two questions focus on empirical data. The primary research question to be addressed relates to the broader attitudes toward the causes of TFS. By exploring what the general public actually attribute the cause(s) to be, and to what extent are these attributions compatible with existing academic research, statistical techniques were used to identify;

RQ_1 *What attitudes do key stakeholders hold toward the causes of theft from stores (TFS), and to what extent do these attitudes concur with existing academic accounts of this phenomenon?*

Since this research adopted an attitudinal and attributional approach (as reviewed in Chapter Three) to identify what differing attitudes exist among its target sample (the key stakeholders), it also aimed to discover whether their causal attributional response could be categorised. This led to the second research question that concerned with the possibility of distinguishing distinct classes of the respondent's causal attributions. Thus, the study uses exploratory factor analysis in order to discover;

RQ_2 *How might these attitudes be classified?*

Ultimately, the research design was aimed to develop a strategy to identify a broader approach to study this phenomenon, by exploring what people actually perceive to be the cause(s). The *perceived* causes may influence behaviour as much as, or more than the *actual* causes, and therefore, may provide various clues as to the motivations behind stealing. What people believe or perceive to be the cause of TFS may also influence how they would behave. As Chapter Three addressed the kind of information that people use to determine casualty, the kinds of causes that they distinguish, and rules they use for going from information to inferred causes, as well as the systematic biases that characterize causal attributions, people's attitudes are reliant for information coming from both internal and external sources. The above concerns led to;

RQ_3 *Are anti-theft strategies of theft from stores (TFS) driven by actual evidence of theft behaviour and its causes by public perceptions, or merely by the dominant attitudes of a key stakeholder group?*

4.1.3 Understanding Academic Theory

To better understand this prevalent from of common criminality, and why the various causal perspectives differ or concur with respect to academic theory and general management practices, the three leading questions mentioned above were translated into the following specific research aims, as;

- To consider key stakeholders' (sample target) *attitudes* towards the causes of TFS;
- To investigate those *multiple* cause forming TFS, and to value how they are perceived;
- To identify those *factors* which shaped the TFS act, and the rationale behind it;
- To discover what *pattern* of possible *control* could then possibly result;

Therefore, the current study aimed its focus on quantifying the state of its target group's findings. That is the key stakeholders' attitudes toward the potential causes of TFS, and the study then explores potential classifications of those attitudes. This study derived from the wide-ranging literature review, and a theoretical framework ranging from internal to external causes of a potential TFS offender, which will be discussed in the following section of this chapter as well as illustrated in Table 4.3-1, to respond towards this study's research questions.

4.2 Strategy of the Research Process

'The first step in solving any problem is to determine its causes'
(Ashcroft *et al.*, 2004, p. 2)

4.2.1 Attribution Style Process

The basis of the attitude survey was established to distinguish if the explanatory causes of TFS put forward by academics working in different disciplines were widely accepted by the general public, or the different sectors of the society, since all of "us" are affected in some degree. The survey focused on measuring the level of agreement of attitudes toward those potential causes of TFS proposed by academics. The survey was based on previous studies proposing a large number of attributes of stealing that took the form of a "would-be" taker, stated by Kallis and Vanier's (1985), commenced by Astor (1969). Therefore, participant's *attribution style* response was measured by this study's attitude scale, which was structured around Kallis and Vanier's abstract of why a person may "take" an item from a store without paying for it. This research examined the influence of beliefs, perceptions and attitudes about the cause of TFS supported by academic explanations and searched to extend studies in attribution style and TFS research. Particularly in doing so, the research process was divided into two Stages.

Stage one of the process analysis explored what the different sectors of its representative sample hold toward the causes of TFS, and to what extent do these attitudes concur with existing academic accounts towards this social phenomenon, which gave rise to particular reactions in data that had highest and lowest level of agreement. Overall, this stage will discuss the distribution of the respondents, and conducting statistical tests. Attitude and attribution research was discussed in Chapter Three, so this current chapter will not draw on that material again for justifications.

Next this chapter will provide a justification for the use of factor analysis. Specifically, as it will be clarified throughout this chapter, stage two was indeed drawn initially on the attitude data to identify whether those types of explanation put forward by academic research fell into any specific categories. Accordingly, and as discussed in the last chapter of this study, this way offered insight into the potential nature of those categories identified. Therefore, due to the exploratory nature of this study, factor analytic techniques were utilised to direct those types of explanation put forward by academics to fall into specific factors. Brace (2003) suggests that such technique allows to,

> '...establish whether one or more factors do underlie a large number of variables,...the analysis identifies the number of factors and it also identifies which of the variables make up which factor.'
>
> (Brace *et al.*, 2003, p. 279)

Previous studies note that factor analytic techniques has a number of different uses (Brace *et al.*, 2003; Kim & Mueller, 1978; Lawley & Maxwell, 1971; Pallant, 2004). This study uses this statistical analysis in order to examine a matrix of correlations between individual statements in the survey to see if any particular blocks of statements naturally form discrete categories. For example, this study is supported to suggest the possibility of a factor underlying the study's variables. Factor analysis is a popular technique for 'analysis of interdependence' (Churchill, 1991), because it identifies a relatively small number of factors that represent relationship among sets of many interrelated variables (Brace *et al.*, 2003).

Given the nature of this study and the various stages involved in compiling the survey, exploratory factor analysis (EFA) was employed in analysing the research material in order to identify principal constructs underlying the respondents' lay perception information. Strategically, stage one and two was the research process of analysis, measured by its acquired attributional style survey. For that reason, in the last section of this chapter, a discussion will be confirmed among the major findings of this survey.

In brief, it was observed that some demographic classifications were found to be statistically significant, and thus a factorial structure was required and conducted in order to go beyond demographics and explore other possible avenues for the future of TFS research. While this study utilised a survey methodology to measure a person's knowledge, feelings, thoughts and experiences about those particular causes, it was not intended to assess theft behaviour. However, this study's approach of an attribution style may provide clues as to the motivation behind respondents' beliefs which in turn could lead to determine people's behaviours. This will be discussed in the final chapter, since this current chapter focuses on explaining the procedures, the analysis and outlines the findings of its empirical research.

4.2.2 Casual Dimensional Scale

The *original* survey scale was based primarily on an extensive pool of the literature considered in Chapter Two, which identified 139 items (seen in Appendix A.1 for the list of statements) and formed with the support of attribution theory and earlier research discussed throughout Chapter Three. By organising those explanations this study shaped a large number of attitudes to general factors relating to possible offenders perpetrating or planning such offence. Therefore, those general factors formed 23 sub-scales which produced a well-defined pattern of a three-dimensional angle, which was supported from the different literature review concerned with the problem of TFS. Table 4.2-1 provides this study's matrix structure with which it presents the relationship between the three main dimensional scales and the 23 multiple sub-scales. Yet, it linked all the 139-items that specifically noted the original causes of TFS proposed by the different literature across the social sciences.

As cited in Chapter Two, studies have examined this diversity in TFS research and theory. The studies usually have used a priori explanation based on an existing theoretical doctrine, key concepts characterisations, rationalisations based on socio and geo-demographic characteristics, and motivational patterns, in order to derive useful groups and subgroups to measure this type of behaviour. Indeed, a large number of those studies argue that the motivations of TFS are frequently multi-dimensioned, that is there is often more than one reason of why a particular individual has possibly stolen an item from a store or might want to attain an item and must restore to illegitimate means, by stealing. Specifically, this study identified that when an incident such as TFS occurs, those different disciplinary studies offer explanations in terms of its cause in order to distinguish who committed the act, under what condition and with which circumstance.

DIMENSIONS SCALE	CONTRIBUTING FACTORS ATTITUDE COMPONENTS (SUB-SCALES)	139 ORIGINAL STATEMENTS
1. Individual Reasons/Causes (Internal) A person takes an item because of who they are	Attitudes toward: ▪ biological factors as a cause ▪ cultural factors as a cause ▪ personality factors as a cause ▪ psychogenic factors as a cause	10,11,32,37,38, 39,48,102,112, 114,115,122
2. Conditional Reasons/Causes (External) A person takes an item because of conditional reasons	Attitudes toward: ▪ economic factors as a cause ▪ situational factors as a cause ▪ psychological factors as a cause ▪ pathological factors as a cause ▪ environmental factors as a cause ▪ educational factors as a cause ▪ sensation seeking factors as a cause ▪ stimulation seeking factors as cause ▪ experiential factors as a cause ▪ perceived risk factors as a cause ▪ temptation factor as a cause	1,2,4,5,6,7,8,9,21,28,41,42,44,45,47,52,53, 58,60,61,62,64,65,66,67,74,75,80,84,87,89, 93,94,95,97,98,100,101,103,104,105,106, 107,108,109,110,111,113,116,117,119,120, 121,123,126,127,128,129,130,131,133,134, 136
3. Circumstantial Reasons/Causes (External) A person takes an item because of circumstantial reasons	Attitudes toward: ▪ obtaining possessions as a cause ▪ social factors as a cause ▪ social position factors as a cause ▪ socio-economic factors as a cause ▪ obtaining prominence as a cause ▪ influential factors as a cause ▪ vulnerability factor as a cause ▪ socio-behavioural factors as a cause	3,12,13,14,15,16,17,18,19,20,22,23,24, 25,26,27,29,30,31,33,34,35,36,40,43, 46,49,50,51,54,55,56,57,59,63,68,69, 70,71,72,73,76,77,78,79,81,82,83,85, 86,88,90,91,92,96,99,118,124,125,132, 135,137,138,139

Table 4.2-1 The Matrix of the Survey Scale on Causal Attribution
Source: A Pool of 139-Items seen in Appendix A.1 from the Literature Review

The causes mentioned in the literature review are structured in the Table above (refer to Appendix A.1 for the list of 139 statements). The matrix combines this study's theoretical framework (Chapter Two) with that and the support of its methodological framework (Chapter Three). The matrix of sought causal attribution constructed the attitude scale used in this study survey, which covered a range of possible causes of TFS proposed by academics. Surprisingly the study also identified the pattern of those three dimensions refer to as individual, conditional, and circumstantial. As seen in Chapter Three, a person tends to make dispositional and situational causal attributions, in other words under most conditions a person will attribute a cause for life events, both internal and external. This is their (participant's) attribution style by which this study exploits to estimate the influence of the various variables.

The style used to attribute cause has been found to affect motivation for further achievement of a criminal behaviour (refer to Flanagan, 1987; and Grasmick & McGill, 1994). This supports the development of an attributional approach for research in crime control and policy making. Attributions of theft causation are an important variable that has not been previously considered in business crime literature. This research provides tentative support that a dimension of causal attribution can contribute to our understanding of theft behaviour. The effect of this construct together with other disciplines from the social science literature could offer useful insights in explaining such behaviour. Evidently, better understanding in this area could also enable businesses to take effective preventative actions against their customers, if the derived data of course came from significant sources in order to draw main conclusions and suggestions.

However, little research has been done identifying the attitudes of the various key parties of this type of crime (discussed in Chapter Two, Section 2.4). As seen earlier the limited research focused on either the customer theft from a retailer's perspective offering store apprehended data, or from the offender's perspective which usually involves adolescents. This risks neglecting the significance in theory that public attitudes are closely connected to attributions concerning the nature and cause of particular social problems (see Wood & Bartkowski, 2004) and especially criminality (see Flanagan, 1987). Therefore, as demonstrated throughout this chapter this study takes somewhat a wider perspective to investigate the business sector, the government system, and the general public.

Overall, this study used a methodology to understand such crime phenomenon and uncover causal attribution (similar to that in Flanagan, 1987) from the victim's viewpoint (recommended by Hentig, 1948). The attitude scale used in this study aimed to measure the beliefs and perceptions of lay people's attributions as predictors of TFS in their causal process. It does not however aim to measure attitudes towards the performance of the actual behaviour; in other words it does not measure theft behaviour, only casual attribution of others.

4.2.3 Methodological Research Design

In theory, a researcher has alternatives in selecting a methodology for undertaking research (May, 2001). Methodologically there are three approaches in scientific research to select from (Andreewsky & Bourcier, 2000). According to Andreewsky and Bourcier, (2000) the origin of these approaches are reached back from Aristotelian classical thought, and its three modes of reasoning ("reasoning" meaning "finding out the truth"); deduction, induction, and retroduction (or "abduction").

This study chose to ground the study on the third approach of *abductive* reasoning, which will now describe in more detail for its chosen approach. Before discussing the abductive reasoning however, it is important to refer to the other two approaches that came together to make this third approach of abduction (May, 2001). The procedure for research where theorising comes before research, is known as *deductive* (Andreewsky & Bourcier, 2000; May, 2001). A deductive research approach is most suitable for testing existing theories, not creating new science. Particularly the development of new theory calls for more *inductive* research. According to Kovacs (2005), the development of any new theories lies in the concept of abduction. Even if both deductive and inductive reasoning has often been used together in most social sciences the concept of abductive has gained less interest in books on philosophy of science and methodology (cited in Kovács & Spens, 2005).

Initially this study followed deductive reasoning, because it came to define its reasoning in the form of if A then B (explained in Fischer, 2001) or a hypothetico-deductive logic (see Foxall, 1995, for a review of the science and interpretation in consumer research). It is acknowledged within empirical scientific literature, which means working from a more general theory to the more specific one by testing specific inferences. For example, like this study the starting point for deductive reasoning is a theory that the researcher narrows the focus to increasingly specific theoretical observations and hypotheses. Then, the researcher tests those hypotheses constructed with specific empirical data in order to confirm or reject the original theory. In general, it goes from theory to facts (Andreewsky & Bourcier, 2000, pp. 837-838). However, this study also examined a particular aspect of the research and derived assumptions from its resultant data, which this reasoning is known as *induction* procedure. Based around inductive reasoning the data of this study was classified and placed into categories, patterns were looked for in the data and potential theories were proposed.

Inductive reasoning can be thought of as the opposite of deductive reasoning, if B then A (refer again to Fischer, 2001). It works from specific observations to broader generalizations and theories, and ends with a conclusion that goes beyond any of the observations a researcher made in the beginning of a study (Fischer, 2001). In other words, it goes from facts to theory (Andreewsky & Bourcier, 2000, p. 838). These two methodologies rarely occur in isolation (May, 2001), and arguably in practice theory building is a 'messy', 'iterative' process (Breakwell & David, 2000*b*, p. 9). According to Breakwell and David (2000*b*) relational rules that seem to be valid are usually craft by successive approximation. Therefore, this process of approximation will involve both methods, inductive and deductive reasoning, at the same time. This mixed approach is the third option for a researcher, and is known as abductive reasoning.

It can be defined as reasoning in which explanatory hypotheses are formed and evaluated (see Fischer, 2001).

> '...advances in science are often achieved through an intuitive leap that comes forth as a whole, and which can be called abductive reasoning. This intuition often results from an unexpected observation that calls for explaining an anomaly that cannot be explained using an established theory'
>
> (Kovács & Spens, 2005, pp. 138-9)

Fischer (2001) states that the starting point for abductive reasoning is a guiding principle that the researcher has found in the previous academic literature that can be either a vague sensitive concept or a developed theoretical model. A framework for investigating the abductive approach can be projected to describe its research process and summarizes its essential points (see Figure 4.2-1 point [3]). Abduction has various explanations, but briefly, it is an innovative process that consists of finding a plausible hypothesis or propositions to fit a particular 'strange' phenomenon (Andreewsky and Bourcier, 2000). As it can be distinguished in Figure 4.3-1 later the abductive approach varies from deduction and induction in its research process and when comparing these processes (points [1, 2 & 3]), the indicators become visible which they differ in their starting point, their aim, and the point in which they draw their final conclusions.

Outlined by Kovács and Spens (2005) the deductive process (point [1]) scans theory, derives logical conclusions from that theory and presents them in the form of hypotheses (*H*) and propositions (*P*). Next it tests these in an empirical setting and then presents its general conclusions based on the corroboration or falsification of its self-generated *H*/*P* (again refer to Figure 4.3-1). Specifically, the 'logical sequence of the research is from rule to case to result' (Kovács & Spens, 2005, p. 137). Nonetheless as described above, the opposite path of that method is pursued by the inductive process (point [2]), which follows the pattern from case to result to then the rule (Kovács & Spens, 2005). As accepted within the literature no prior knowledge of a general frame or literature is definitely necessary in inductive research (see Andreewsky & Bourcier, 2000) instead, interpretation will lead to emerging propositions and generalizations in a theoretical frame (cited in Kovács & Spens, 2005, p 137) .

The abductive approach takes another process (point [3]), 'from rule to result to case' (Kovács & Spens, 2005, p. 137). It is the case that presents a plausible but yet not logically necessary conclusion, provided that its anticipated rule is correct (Kovács & Spens, 2005). For example, as stated by Kovács and Spens, an empirical event or phenomenon is related to a rule, which gives new insights about that event or phenomenon. It can also lead to "suggesting" general rules (see Andreewsky & Bourcier, 2000), that is hypotheses (*H*) or propositions (*P*) or even theory (Kovács & Spens, 2005).

Therefore, rather than focusing on generalizations only, this approach is concerned with the particularities of specific situations that deviate from the general structure of such kinds of situations. *'What then are the reasons for choosing abductive reasoning as the theoretical approach of this study?'* A stated earlier, most social research uses both deductive and inductive reasoning (Andreewsky & Bourcier, 2000), at the same time without noting such approach within their studies. Additionally as seen in Chapter One and Two this study's research focus is a small, overlooked and yet neglected considered research area, and no generally accepted theory or framework is available in its existing literature. Because of the nature and realism of this research, abductive reasoning seems the most suitable methodology (for a full review on the pursued approach, see Fischer, 2001; and Kovács & Spens, 2005).

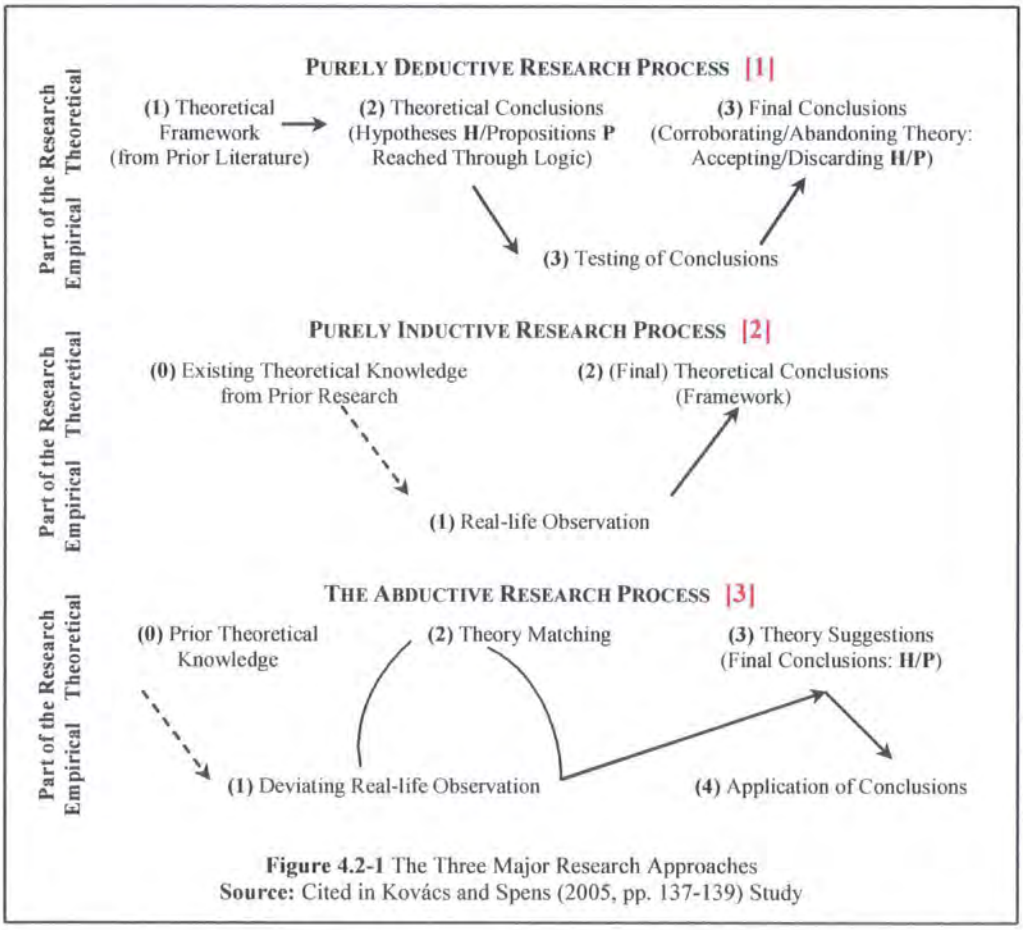

Figure 4.2-1 The Three Major Research Approaches
Source: Cited in Kovács and Spens (2005, pp. 137-139) Study

Abductive reasoning allows the researcher to find and add new elements of interest into the theory. Indeed research followers see abduction as the systematized creativity or intuition in research to develop 'new' knowledge (Andreewsky & Bourcier, 2000).

Taking an abductive approach helped this study to develop new insight into existing phenomena, in order for further research TFS from a new perspective. This approach of creating knowledge is rather common in general crime research (see Hollin, 1989; Sampson & Groves, 1989) than that of applying existing theories from other scientific fields. Since, Cox et al, (1989) called that there is a desperate need to develop a new theoretical perspective that allows us to explain and predict particular retail crime, the phenomenon of TFS remained relatively open for a new theoretical knowledge on such a problematic phenomenon. A framework for assessing the use of such research approach in business crime research is proposed in the final chapter of this study. The framework proposed in the Chapter Five, is to function as tool for further investigation that could also function as a trigger for more discussion in studies on this study's research approach used within TFS , however it could also open new ways in studying general criminal, delinquent, and antisocial behavioural research.

Moreover, three basic types of research design besides inductive, deductive, and abductive reasoning are distinguished in practical research literature. Methodologically a research topic can be carried out on one of three levels; exploratory, descriptive, and causal research (see Burns & Ronald, 2003). Research design is a *strategic framework* that guides research activities (Galyam & Grange, 2003, p. 85). According to Babbie (2004), a research design addresses the planning of scientific inquiry designing a strategy to explore, describe and explain something (Babbie, 2004). There are two broad approaches that are usually adopted by researchers to gather data, namely quantitative and qualitative approaches. In this research an exploratory quantitative approach was followed to be able to investigate its research problem and justify its results. Objectively, this study adopted this approach as it has been recommended that explorative research should be conducted where researchers are require to gain insight into a situation, phenomenon, community or individual (Burns & Ronald, 2003).

Through exploratory studies preliminary investigations are done into relatively "unclear" areas of research, and suggested that there are a variety of methods are available to conduct exploratory research (Burns & Ronald, 2003). By unclear, it means that exploratory research does not have a formalised set of objectives, sample plan, or a primary survey to investigate its research problem, it is usually conducted when existing researcher does not know much about the problem or some conclusions do not make sense which then needs additional information or desires new or more recent information on the research problem (see Burns & Ronald, 2003). As mentioned earlier, TFS is not comparatively new in the field of academic research yet it has been overlooked in most part.

According to Burns and Ronald (2003), research methods include secondary data analysis, experience surveys, case analysis, focus groups, and projective techniques. In this research study, experience surveys were used to gather its data, based around a theoretical framework controlled by the literature in order to compare the research findings with themes from the literature.

> 'Experience surveys refer to gather information from those thought to be familiar on the issue relevant to the research problem.'
>
> (Burns & Ronald, 2003, p. 123)

Since this research dealt with a common problem that everybody is familiar with, the investigation was directed to clear representatives on the issue in order to meet the terms of an understanding survey. In order to reach a better understanding about the general nature of the research problem this study adopted its methodological approach according to its purpose mentioned in the beginning of this chapter (and reviewed in Chapter One). Consequently, by reviewing and implementing existing literature, surveying individuals knowledgeable in the area of investigation and relying on former similar cases situations are methods for conducting exploratory research, lead to its support of the particular research methodology this study chose. The three key research questions discussed above in Section 4.1.2 address a typical exploratory research problem, which seeks to identify relationship between different variables. Understanding this study's variables is now considered in the following section.

4.2.4 Analytical Approach of Measuring Attitudes

Following the suggestion by Thurstone's paper on *Attitudes can be measured* in 1928, the concept "attitude" was used in this study's survey to denote the sum total of an individual's inclinations and feeling, prejudice or bias, preconceived notions, ideas, fears, and threats about the specific topic (Thurstone, 1967*a,* p. 77). Additionally, as Thurstone pointed out, those beliefs (or opinions) may be viewed as how a person perceives a particular object (topic) and expressed by their attitudes. It is interesting, in view of this discussion of a persons perception and attitudes, to note Fishbein's argument that the perceived beliefs are often used as the means for measuring peoples attitudes (Fishbein, 1967*c*). By putting into practice Thurstone's and Fishbein's notes, this study used participant's perceived beliefs about the causes of TFS as the mean for measuring their attitudes. Various methods of attitude measurement are based on the assumption that can measure people's perceived beliefs about an attitude object (see Stahlberg & Frey, 1988), but the first restriction in the problem of measuring attitudes is to specify an attitude variable and to limit the measure to that (Fishbein, 1967*c;* Thurstone, 1967*b*), as this study aimed to perform.

In order, to measure the respondent's beliefs *and* disbeliefs about an attitude object a Likert type scaling technique is preferred over other techniques because it has been verified by studies for its validity and reliability to be the method of measuring the same underlying attitude (see Middel & Dassen, 2005; and Mitchell & Ka Lun Chan, 2002). Therefore, the method of measuring the same underlying attitude of causal attributions for this study was done by a five point Likert-type scale measure. The Likert scale is argued to be one of the most popular standard attitude scales, partly because it's more statistically reliable than other types of scales and partly because its is easier to construct (see Gross, 2001, Chapter 24). Originally, the Likert Scales was developed by Rensis Likert in the 1920's, and it is the most frequently used attitude measure in social sciences (cited in May, 2001). The Likert technique agree to by this study offered a character by a set of attitude statements (as recommended by Likert, 1967). Yet, the Likert method has the ability to capture different aspects of attitude, raging from beliefs to be behaviour (Hewstone, 1986; Hewstone & Fincham, 2001). The Likert responses to the 88 statements of the questionnaire give rise to the ordinal scale of the total attitude score. This attitude scale is ordinal as the numbers indicate rank order so does not represent absolute quantities, and the intervals between adjacent numbers are not necessarily equal (May, 2001). Due to the nature of this study, the measurement at an interval scale was required for the statistical analysis in order to specify the differences between variables. One of the characteristics of the questionnaire discussed earlier involved the relationship between variables. The aim of this study's questionnaire analysis was to examine patterns among replies to the questions represent. This takes the form of seeing what extent one variable were influenced by another.

Since this study measured public perceived knowledge and thoughts about the particular causes, subjects were asked in this study's survey in indicate how strongly they agree with (perceived beliefs) or disagree with (perceived disbeliefs) each statement, by using a five-point scale ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree" (suggested by Fishbein, 1967*c*, p. 265). Respondents were also given the opportunity to choice an undecided point if they were not familiar with a particular cause(s), or did not wish to express an opinion based on such statement. Prior to analysis each response was then given a numerical value and the sum of the values was then taken as the index of the respondent's attitude (May, 2001). That is, the responses of this study were summed to give an overall attitude score, which each statement falling between 1 and 5, where 5 represents the strongest expression of feeling[10]. The response values could then be summed to give an overall attitude score ranging between 88 and 440, which represents the total individual attitude scale. Thus, a high score indicated a positive attitude toward the potential causes. That is, the higher the sum, the more favourable the attitude was.

Overall, as seen in Table 4.2-2, a high total score for the questionnaire means the respondent generally agrees with most of the explanations put forward by academic literature. A low score means that they either agree to a very limit extent with all these different explanations or, alternatively, they perhaps agree strongly with only one or two of the explanations and dismiss most of the rest. Essentially, this would mean that the attitude section would yield not only an overall measurement of how positive or negative respondents' attitudes were, but also provide an insight into how people view TFS and its causes.

INTERNAL DATA CONSTRUCTED A 5-POINT LIKERT-TYPE SCALE (SCORED 1-5)
High Score Greater appreciation that TFS multiple potential causes and no one narrow *"type"* of person who steals
Low Score More they believe there are just one or two main causes of TFS and that stealing is done by one or two narrow *"criminal types"*

Table 4.2-2 Responses Summed for an Attitude Score

The original survey statements were written from a positive viewpoint, so the resulting attitudinal scale to project overall positive statements towards the subject issue. The responses were transformed so that they all indicate a consistent direction (May, 2001) of support or opposition for the causes of TFS. This was achieved by taking all the responses to a positive rank. This was clearly a subjective task, but it was undertaken using the literature for guidance and carrying out various pre-tests (discussed below) that refined the process until a satisfactory scale was achieved. Attitude score has been found to be a useful methodology as it not only indicates whether a respondent has a positive or negative attitude, but also gives a measure of how strong that attitude is (Thurstone, 1967*a*).

4.2.5 Validating Measures

> *'The value of research findings relies largely on the reliability and validity of the empirical measurement instruments.'* (Kelly Rainer & Miller, 1996, p. 97)

Several concerns are addressed regarding validating measures for designing and developing this study's measurement instrument. Thus, validating this research was maintained on both *reliable* (consistent), whereby we obtain the same results from the same measurements on different occasions, and *valid* (accuracy), whereby it measures what it is intended to measure (Burns & Ronald, 2003).

In relation to this study, reliability and validity were cited to be an essential criteria for developing efficient information about the public (studied as consumes Bristow & Mowen, 1998*a*) and their attitudes (Gumus & Koleoglu, 2002; Kelly Rainer & Miller, 1996), especially when measurements were used by market researchers (Burns & Ronald, 2003; Parasuraman, 1991). It has been argued (see Parasuraman, 1991; Ping Jr, 2003) that most marketers fail to ascertain either the reliability or the validity of the measuring instruments they use and assume that their findings are sufficiently reliable and valid for their purposes. Literature also suggests that the best resolution to the problem of reliability and validity is to verify research findings by quantitative methods whenever possible (see Assael, 1995; Burns & Ronald, 2003). Measurement validation of this study's instrument is covered though each stage of the scale design, development, and analyses discussed in this chapter, and this study now addresses causal attitudes and the instrument for its measurement.

4.2.5.1 Attaining Reliability and Validity

Verification of the reliability measures is important, because it allows for generalization of the results obtained by the measure, and without reliability, validity cannot be established (Nunnally & Bernstein, 1994). Specifically, reliability refers to the degree to which a measure is free of variable error (Ping Jr, 2003) and biases (Amaratunga *et al.*, 2002). The less error and minimal biases in the study the greater reliability it has. Reliability deals with data collection process that ensures consistency of its results (Amaratunga *et al.*, 2002) stability of its results on different occasions over time (Ping Jr, 2003), and reproducibility of a measurement instrument (Coolican, 1999). Coolican (1999) suggests that the Likert scales used in summated ratings have relatively high reliabilities. In addition, it has been claimed that the reliability and validity of verbal instruments are largely dependent on the design and construction of the scales used (Thurstone, 1967*a*).

Reliability has been identified as a necessary, but not a sufficient condition for validity (Nunnally & Bernstein, 1994). Nunnally and Bernstein (1994) suggest that, when scores are used to make decisions about individuals, rather than simply detecting group differences, the guidelines for acceptability of reliability estimates should be increased to .90. The question of the measurement of reliability becomes important. The most common type of reliability measurement evaluates the internal consistency of items in a particular scale. It has been argued (see Smith & McCarthy, 1995) that without establishing the internal consistency of a measure, the relative degree of error variance of the measure is unknown, thus making uncertain the degree to which an individual's score represents a true index of the measure.

The literature suggests two types of internal consistency of item analysis (Churchill *et al.*, 1979; Cronbach, 1951; Funk & Dennis, 1999) that can be measured: (1) inter-item Pearson correlation (or item total correlations), and (2) Cronbach's alpha, with item total correlations. The assessment of scale reliability is based on the correlations between the individual items or measurements that make up the scale, relative to the variances of the items. Item analysis may be used to construct reliable measurement scales, to improve existing scales, and to evaluate the reliability of scales already in use (see Bristow & Mowen, 1998*a;* Bristow & Mowen, 1998*b*, had been previously used in consumer responses). Additionally, standard tests on generalizability theory and psychometrics (for example, Nunnally & Bernstein, 1994) often recommend testing reliability with an inter-item correlation coefficient (cited in Funk & Dennis, 1999).

Internal consistency is the degree of homogeneity among the items that constitute a particular measure (Churchill *et al.*, 1979, p. 70), that means the degree to which the items are interrelated and measure a single trait or entity. Internal consistency is determined by preliminary statistical examination of the results obtained, typically equated with Pearson's product-moment correlation coefficient r and Cronbach's correlation coefficient alpha. In this study, Churchill's (1979) method was used to purify the attitude scale into a reliable measure. Distinguished in Section 4.4.4 later in this chapter, the effect of Churchill's (1979) recommendation of "garbage items" was employed. Accordingly, to purify any instrument of measurement, the primary approach is to explore the item total correlations and the coefficient alpha, which will be used to delete the so called garbage items (Cronbach 1951; Churchill 1979).

First, the item reliability of each item in relationship to the total score was carried out using the Pearson Correlation analysis. Item total analysis for each of the item scales with a total mean score should reveal item having reliability coefficient above $r = .50$. A low item-total correlation means the item is little correlated with the overall scale and the researcher should consider dropping it (Churchill, 1991). An item's corrected item total or inter item correlation indicates the extent of the correlation between the score on the item and the sum of scores on all other items making up the dimension to which the item belongs (see Parasuraman, 1991). Cronbach's alpha is used to determine the reliability of the scales and results. Statistically, coefficient alpha indicates the degree to which a set of items share a common core (Cronbach, 1951). Nunnally and Bernstein (1994) emphasises the importance of internal consistency estimate calculation for new measures or new uses of existing measures. Thus,

> '...it [Cronbach's coefficient alpha] is so pregnant with meaning that it should routinely be applied to all new tests,' and '...there is no excuse for not computing it [Cronbach's coefficient alpha] for any new measure'
>
> (Cronbach, 1951, p. 234)

In its basic equation form, Cronbach's alpha can be expressed as follows: The formula shows that Cronbach's alpha measures true variance over total variance. According to Nunnally (1978) the alpha of a scale should be greater than 0.70 for the items to be used together as a scale (see Nunnally & Bernstein, 1994). The alpha for the total scale is also computed on the assumption that the item under examination is deleted. Nunnally (1978) also gives a common guideline for the alpha standards of reliability: (a) early stage of research, alpha 0.5-0.6, (b) basic research, alpha 0.7-0.8, and (c) applied settings, alpha 0.8-0.9. While one objective of scientific work is to discover and determine the relations between variables, reliability becomes a necessary condition of the value of research results and interpretation (Nunnally & Bernstein, 1994).

There are several strategies available to improve the reliability of the results. The primary principle underlying improvement in reliability is the maximization of the variance of the individual differences and minimization of the error variance (May, 2001). In brief, May (2001) proposes various general procedures for doing this that was followed by this study: (1) measuring instruments should be written unambiguously, (2) adding more items of equal kind and quality, usually decreases the change error while more items increase the probability of accurate measurement, and (3) providing clear and standard instructions for questions. Ambiguous instructions are said to increase the error variance and biases. These standards as well as other that will be discussed below were taken into account in planning the questionnaire.

Attaining validity is how well an item measures what it should, and a valid measure consists of valid items (Ping Jr, 2003). Validity refers to the extent to which an instrument measures what it claims to or is intended to measure, that is corresponding the "true" score (value) it was designed to measure (Böcker, 1988). The validity concept may be also called 'logical validity' (Böcker, 1988, p. 16). The logical validity concept is inadequate for empirical research (Böcker, 1988) since it cannot be proven on the basis of a single piece of evidence (Ping Jr, 2003). In fact within methodology literature the measures of validity is often considered under either internal or external validity (Amaratunga *et al.*, 2002). Internal validity criterion refers to the extent whether there are factors other than the independent variables that could cause an observed change in the dependent variable, and external validity criterion concerns with the generalizability and applicability of the results to the general population (for example see Amaratunga *et al.*, 2002; Ping Jr, 2003). In other words, external validity refers to the extent to which the research results can be generalized to other settings, occasions, and populations.

The external validity of this study can be considered relatively high on account of the large size of the survey sample, which in turn can be considered representative of the whole British population. Still, the internal and external validity definitions are not in themselves detailed definitions of validity for empirical research. While researchers do not agree on a maximal set of validity tests, validity should be determined using at least the following criteria suggested by Nunnally and Bernstein (1994): *content* or *face* validity (how well items match their conceptual definition), *criterion* validity (measure correspondence with other known valid and reliable measures of the same construct), and *construct* validity (measure correspondences with other constructs are consistent with theoretically derived predictions). The last of these is considered the most important for marketing research (see Churchill, 1991; see Churchill *et al.*, 1979; Ping Jr, 2003), and is cited as a prime instrument measuring attitudes towards an object (see Middel & Dassen, 2005, measure towards aggression).

First, the 'content' or 'face validity' is commonly recognized as one of the principle types of validity (for example, see Nunnally & Bernstein, 1994; Smith & McCarthy, 1995) in the methodological literature. It refers to the degree to which a specific set of items are a representative and appropriate sample of the content (subject matter) contained in the instructional objectives the attainment of which the test is intended to measure (Nunnally & Bernstein, 1994; Parasuraman, 1991). It indicates the adequacy with which the domain of a characteristic is captured by the measure. By drawing heavily from the literature (see Appendix A.1) and its variables, this study reports with confidence its face validity. So, content validity was increased by planning the questions accurately. In brief (considered later in the chapter), negative and ambiguous questions were avoided, questions were kept relatively short and clear, each question or item was planned to represent an aspect of the variable being measured, and biased questions, including offensive statements, slang terms, and prejudicial or leading questions, were avoided. The attitude questions were carefully worded to minimize perceived threat.

By adopting various techniques to increase *accuracy* (validity) (reported by Blair *et al.*, 1977) it may have enabled some estimation to be made of the respondents' tendencies either to deny or to exaggerate socially undesirable attitudes; however, in view of the extensive length of the questionnaires it was decided purify the attitude scale in order to present a superior validating measure for theory. It is recognised that dishonest reporting may have biased the results, however, the proportions of respondents knew the behaviour of TFS, consistent with TFS previous studies (see Farrington, 1999, and Klemke, 1992), and in addition, the consistency of the responses of the questionnaire, suggest that the respondents completed the questionnaire truthfully.

The consistency of the findings, together with the alpha coefficients reported below, provides some support for the questionnaire being completed truthfully and consistently and, in addition, provides support for the utility of the developing theory for investigating "aberrant" consumer behaviour. Then again, criterion validity concerns 'the correspondence of a measure with a criterion measure, a known and, preferably, standard measure of the same concept' and 'it is typically established using correlations' (Ping Jr, 2003, p. 6). For example, this type of validity refers to the extent to which scores on a test correspond to a certain criterion. Specifically, criterion validity is studied by comparing scores with one or more external variables, or criteria, known or believed to measure the attribute in the study.

Finally, construct validity is the degree to which an instrument actually captures the concept it is supposed to measure (Nunnally, 1978). Construct validity is the most important form of validity (see Ping Jr, 2003), and refers to the degree to which a test measures the target construct, or psychological concept or variable (Churchill *et al.*, 1979), inferred from all of the logical arguments and empirical evidence available. Construct validity is thus directly concerned with the relationship of a variable to other variables. Exploratory factor analysis is one method of construct validation (see Ping Jr, 2003). Encompassed by the category of construct validation are two additional types of validity in social sciences (Ping Jr, 2003): *convergent* and *discriminant* (Nunnally & Bernstein, 1994). According to Nunnally and Bernstein (1994), convergent and discriminant validity represent the correlation between the measure of interest and another theoretically similar measure with which it is expected to correlate highly and the correlation between the measure of interest and another theoretically dissimilar measure with which it is not expected to correlate.

Assessment of convergent and discriminant validity provides significant detail about the characteristics of the measure of interest, that it relates in expected ways to similar measures and to measures to which it should not relate. Crucial for this study's attitude scale, convergent measures were suggested to be highly correspondent (for example, correlated) across different methods such as a survey and an experiment. Assessing reliability and validity of a scale usually assumes an underling dimensional measures (Ping Jr, 2003). According to Ping (2003) a unidimensional item has only one underlying construct, and a unidimensional measure consists of unidimensional items. As this study develops, procedures for attaining unidimensionality using exploratory factor analysis are well known (Ping Jr, 2003). Factor analysis is a method for reducing a large number of measures to a smaller number called factors by discovering which measures measure the same thing. However, using factor analysis as a method of measuring construct validation is very complicated (Crawford & Lomas, 1980).

As shown latter in this chapter a number of this study's analyses involved respondent's perception toward the causes of TFS. Subsequent to performing these analyses, this study proposed to seek a simpler structure in its cause-perception data. Toward that end (and as discussed in later section), this study entered the revised items into a factor analysis. Factor loadings of 0.50 were considered as a significant contribution to a factor (Anderson & Gerbing, 1988; Bagozzi & Yi, 1988; Costello & Osborne, 2005). The internal consistency method was adopted to check for homogenous data, with 0.5 as a sufficient condition for an exploratory study. Factor analysis is a data reduction technique, which takes a number of different variables and tries to note any underlying relationships which may be present. It was originally pioneered by a psychologist named Spearman to aid his understanding of human abilities, and he postulated that a basic factor of intelligence underlies each person's ability to perform various skills (Crawford & Lomas, 1980). Crawford and Lomas suggest that the applications of this in marketing subjects are in two main categories, to attempt to understand behavioural and attitudinal processes by trying to identify and give explanatory definitions to underlying factors, and to reduce large groups of variables into a smaller but more manageable representative subset.

4.2.6 Producing a Reliable and Valid Attitude Scale

A major concern in any self-report study of TFS is the reliability of the findings (Tonglet, 2001). TFS is a sensitive topic, and therefore may be subject to dishonest reporting (as in Tonglet, 2001) and/or potential social desirability bias (as in Cox *et al.*, 1993). Attitudes towards the causes of TFS were measured by having respondents state their level of agreement on numerous causal items that a person may steal. Those items covered a range of possible causes for TFS, focusing primarily on the domain of the construct defined earlier as including three dimensions most commonly mentioned in previous research. In this study, a theoretical framework was developed and various types of reliability and validity measures were used. According to Ping (2003), marketers generally agree that specifying and testing theoretical scales (or frameworks) using variables with multiple item measures of data involve six steps: (i) defining constructs, (ii) stating relationships among these constructs, (iii) developing measures of the constructs, (iv) gathering data, (v) validating the measures, and (vi) validating the scale or framework (that is, testing the stated relationships among the constructs). However the scale survey was first classed as highly reliable and compatible with the reliability of other research carried out by various explanatory studies (sourced in Section 4.4.4) in order to result in a structural framework. It seems appropriate and acceptable to assume that the causes of TFS are a sample of an underlying dimensions using exploratory factor analysis. In brief, results of reliability analysis found that all items and thus factors extracted had high item total correlations and the scale reliability was high.

Eighteen out of 57 item reliabilities for the underlying factorial framework were lower than the 0.50 cut-off value recommended by Bagozzi and Yi (1988). It is in fact quite common to find that several measures of an estimated model have squared factor loadings below the 0.50 threshold (Anderson & Gerbing, 1988; Costello & Osborne, 2005). Additionally, the composite reliability tends to increase and, hence, measurement error decreases as the number of items in a combination increases (Churchill, 1979). The latter is evident if regard the composite reliability value for the support usage construct, which is considerably above the 0.70 cut-off value recommended by Nunnally (1994). Therefore, the composite reliabilities and average variance extracted were examined to ensure that the loadings were statistically reliable. Specifically, as illustrated later, Cronbach's alpha was carried out to provide a measure of consistency for each factor identified. Essentially, all items exhibiting correlations lower than recommended as accepted value were excluded from further analyses, and the *n* factors yield a pattern with high significance. Therefore, the results of this research program provided evidence that can be classed as highly reliable and compatible with the reliability of other researches. Table 4.2-3 shows the principles this study followed.

STAGES OF THE SCALE	CRITERIA FOR RELIABILITY	ACCEPTABLE VALUES	SOURCE (DATE)
Attitudinal Data Tests	*Inter-Item Pearson Correlation (Significant)*	$r > .50$ ($p < .01$)	Churchill et al (1979); Churchill (1991); Funk & Dennis (1999)
	Cronbach's Alpha	$r > .70$	Nunnally & Bernstein (1994)
	Item Total Correlation	$r > .50$	Cronbach (1951; 1955)
Factorability Data Tests	*Sample Size in Cases*	> 300	Tabachnick & Fidell (1996); Pallant (2004); Costello & Osborne (2005)
	Cases to Item Ratio	> 5:1	
	Correlation Matrix	> .30	Tabachnick & Fidell (1996)
	Sampling Adequacy KMO	> 60	Kaiser (1974) cited in Pallant (2004)
	Barlett's Test of Sphericity Value Significant	$p < .05$	Bartlett (1954) cited in Pallant (2004) Tabachnick & Fidell (1996)
	Composite Factor Item	$r > .50$	Bagozzi & Yi (1988); Hinkin (1992)
	Average Variance Extracted	> 50%	Anderson & Gerbing, (1988); Costello & Osborne, (2005)
	Eigenvalue Kaiser Criterion	> 1.0	Kaiser (1974) cited in Pallant (2004)

Table 4.2-3 Attaining a Valid and Reliable Framework Involving Survey Data

The results of the analyses are provided later in this chapter. However, it was deemed important to review some of the fundamental issues relating to the evaluation of the structural framework of this study's (Bagozzi & Yi, 1988). In many respects Then (1996) suggests that 'an evaluation is often focused on measures to counteract the weaknesses inherent in the particular piece of research' (cited in Amaratunga *et al.*, 2002, p. 29) which should be initially discussed (May, 2001). Overall, the empirical results of this study are the outcomes from the collection, interpretation, analysis and evaluation of the data. According to May (2001), each study attempting to contribute to the theoretical development of a particular field of academic research must demonstrate sufficient reliability, validity, and generalizability.

4.3 Public Victimisation Survey Strategy: Design for Analysis

4.3.1 Survey and Data Management

Nearly all of the prior studies are based on the account of apprehended adolescent offenders, it was deemed important for data to *elicited directly* to the general public (its target) by a *self-report* method (see Breakwell & David, 2000*b*, on techniques of data elicitation). Self-report data have been frequently used by criminologists and sociologists to collect data on criminal, delinquent, antisocial behaviour. Use of self-report data is one of the most popular methods of measuring delinquent behaviour (Farrington, 1999; Klemke, 1992) The seriousness of such behaviour has not altered the use of self-report data. Different disciplinary concerns on TFS discussed throughout Chapter Two (specifically refer to Table 2.4-1) have in the majority all been examined using self-report data. Klemke (1982) found that self-report data collection, were significantly more validating for measuring theft behaviour, and mainly TFS. It is interesting, in view of Klemke's conclusions on self-report surveys, to note Farrington's suggestion that self-report data, used under particular conditions, have been shown to have predictive validity, internal consistency and concurrent validity (see Farrington, 1999).

This study's "survey" and not the study as a whole, can be stated within the literature under two theoretical approaches; social psychological and explanatory, since the survey's aim was to gain data on attitudes towards the causes of TFS, and to explain how those attitudes are linked to their background and/or other explanatory variable. The measurement of attitudes and the management of any data became the subject of many academic papers (May, 2001). It has been established (May, 2001, p. 90) that attitude surveys can fulfil the function of providing this information (that is, explanations), which in turn raises concerns within data management. The following sub-sections will demonstrate and discuss these conditions.

4.3.1.1 Choice of Survey Instrument

While this study explicitly set out to test hypotheses which were derived from past studies in order to provide promising explanations, it all begun with the construction of this study's theoretical propositions held in Chapter Three.

> 'Good surveys research follows a common process in the testing and development of a theory', whereby a hypothesis or hypotheses will be formed. A *hypothesis* conjecture which is deduced from theory, which if found to be true would support the theory. Conversely if found to be false will falsify [by seeking statistical evidence for a theory rather than 'proof'] all or part of the theory.'
>
> (May, 2001, p. 91)

A questionnaire was chosen for the survey instrument for a number of reasons. As opposed to verbal interviewing, a questionnaire standardises the questions asked, so a uniformity of response is achieved, allowing statistics to be carried out (see Raymond, 1999). Survey questionnaires have been widely used in academic papers to describe attitudes, perception, opinions and awareness (May, 2001). With regard to this study's subject area and many others, the potential for using previous studies to provide the survey design guidelines was good (May, 2001). According to May's guiding principles, researching by questionnaires is predicted on a rigorous approach that aims to remove as much bias from the research process as possible and produce results that are replicable by following the same methods. This, it is claimed, can be achieved in a number of ways (see May, 2001). For example there is standardization, replicability (that relates to reliability and validity), and representativeness, which will be discussed in turn later in this chapter.

Importantly for this study, survey questionnaires have distinct financial and practical advantages (see Fink & Kosecoff, 1985; May, 2001) over other techniques for data collection. For example, other survey instruments such as telephone surveys and the individual interviews require a great deal of time and are associated with high cost. Additionally, there is a high potential for interviewer bias when using those two methods, for instance some respondents may be unwilling or embarrassed to verbally report fear of stealing. Verbal methods are also harder to standardize, with slight changes in word order or even inflection having the potential to alter the meaning of a question (May, 2001). Allowing respondents to answer questions in their own time that is the means of a *self-completion* questionnaire is a significant advantage over verbal methods. By employing such self-report approach it meant that answers were considered more accurate describing respondents' attitudes (see Fink & Kosecoff, 1985). However, as Fink (1985) stresses that the risk with this method is that respondents may get help completing the questionnaire from other members of their background and potentially distorting responses.

Therefore, delivering the questionnaire by *mail* was not considered a good idea due to this reason (Jobber, 1989), as well as due to the verified low response rate that is commonly achieved, the difficulty of getting addresses and the high financial cost (Fink & Kosecoff, 1985; May, 2001). Because the area to be surveyed had a clearly defined boundary, it was decided that the questionnaire should be distributed by a *face-to-face* and *store-to-store* method (traditionally mentioned as a *door-to-door* method in literature – May, 2001) towards this study's target population of a consumer, retail and law enforcement sample groups. All respondents were left to complete the survey in their own time. This had the advantage that the survey questionnaire could be completed at any ones time, and removed the problems associated with interviewer bias.

4.3.1.2 The Multi-item Questionnaire

As reported earlier respondents were asked to complete an extensive questionnaire on a five-point Likert-type scale measure for a study (this study) on what they (the ordinary people) knew, thought and felt about the projected causes of TFS. Additionally emphasis was given that their opinions were of interest, in order for this study to measure their causal attributions. Appendix B.1 shows a copy of the questionnaire used. Since the multi-item questionnaire was distributed for self-completion, the layout, instructions and questions were aimed for straightforwardness, clearness and ambiguousness (May, 2001). Oppenheim (2000) states that the specific aims and measurements must be precisely and logically related to the aims of the data instrument and overall research plan, adding that there are no hard and fast established methodologies to help design questionnaires and stressing the fact that the researcher must exercise their own best judgment (Oppenheim, 2000). Guidelines do exist however, and careful consideration was given to these with regard to ethical and practical reasons, the order, style and simplicity unprejudiced language, unleading questions and non hypothetical question types, as well as avoiding ambiguity, that is using complex knowledge to answer (referenced by Burns & Ronald, 2003; Coolican, 1999; May, 2001; Oppenheim, 2000).

The wording was a main and significant feature for designing the multi-item questionnaire, because of the topics sensitivity. Essentially, TFS was referred by studies as a sensitive issue besides criminal behaviour (from Lee & Renzetti, 1990; Lee, 1999), and suggests that by presenting the questionnaire in the appropriate unoffending language would have a positive impact on the response rate. These considerations meant that the potential for personal offending or boring the respondent with sensitive questions or an overly-long questionnaire was minimised. The following sub-sections will now describe the considerations and the justification behind this study's questionnaire language used.

4.3.1.3 Question Wording and Definition

Following the guidelines set forth by the above authors, the questions were introduced by such phrases as "we are interested in your thoughts about *why a person* may take an item from a store without paying for it. A person can be a customer, a member of staff, or a contractt employee working in a store", and participants next could perceive various statements that indicate reasons that *other* people often take items without paying. The questions were phrased in an *indirect* manner in order for this study to examine public attitudes and their causal attributes the words was also carefully expressed, for example the word 'steal' was dismissed throughout the questionnaire and replaced with the word 'take' (originated by Kallis & Vanier Dinoo, 1985).

Therefore, the questionnaire was focussed to and written in the third person when read. For example, statements were phrased such as 'a person took' and 'a young person takes' rather than 'you' or 'I took'. It has been revealed (for example, see Blair *et al.*, 1977; Lee, 1999) that such indirect statements tent to increase the accuracy of self-report regarding sensitive behaviours. Particularly, a study based on consumer attitudes toward TFS, suggests that such language technique avoid response bias (see Prestwich, 1978). This concern goes through and clears the validity of the survey and resolves various ethical problems (see Coolican, 1999, in reach contact issues and participant rights). As discussed in the last section of this chapter, this study dealt with a set of responsibilities carried by ethical and logistical principles. Statements about participant's behaviour were not used directly to them, and an indirect method was applied.

Moreover, in order to remove any uncertainty and unfamiliarity about the language used in the questionnaire, a short definition was included in the survey's instructions section. By this "a person" as a phrase was exercised within the all statements of the questionnaire as stated above to represent that "a person can be a customer, member of staff, or a contract employee working in a store". Additionally, another concern of understandably was the word "take" that was draw on to indicate "a person who took something from a store without paying for it". During pre-test work (as described in the pilot study) an open question was included in the last part in order to clarify any such uncertainties. The pre-test sample participants were required to describe in a single sentence what *they* understood with the word "take" to have meant within the survey statements they have answered. As a result 58% described it as "removing or acquiring an item without paying", 32% as "stealing", 6% as "thieving" and the remaining 4% as "criminal act". Therefore, all participants responded appropriately with the survey's intentions, and the study was confident that participant understands its language used.

4.3.1.4 Covering Letter

After pre-testing and subsequent revisions were completed (both discussed in detail later in this chapter), the questionnaire was accompanied by a covering letter, following guidelines from Fink and Kosecoff (1985), with May (2001). The covering letter is shown in Appendix B.2. The letter stressed the need for the respondent's cooperation, and noted the anonymity of their self-reported replies. Its argued that the anonymity may be advantageous if dealing with ethically sensitive issues (May, 2001, p. 98). May (2001) recommends that self-report data may be affected by the method of data collection and that a questionnaire may be preferable if anonymity can be assured. Therefore, the covering letter needed to be concise, yet informative.

A personal style was used for this study's covering letter in an attempt to increase the response rate, since, it was thought that people would be more co-operative if they felt they were helping an individual with research as opposed to a larger organisation (see Fink & Kosecoff, 1985). A covering letter was not appropriate for face-to-face surveying, so a verbal equivalent by the researcher personally (as standardised as possible) was used instead. However, it was required as an important feature where questionnaires were distributed to each shopping customer, store representative and to constabulary quarters. Essentially, for the retailers and the police the covering letter stressed that the results were confidential and anonymous, and that the police officers and the retailer's participation in the survey were appreciated greatly as their answers will be used only for statistical analysis. The respondent of those two groups of the population were assured that a summary of the results would be available, if requested, and all results would be reported only in aggregate to protect individual privacy. All participants had the right to refuse to answer, since the completion of the questionnaire was voluntary and therefore not compulsory.

4.3.2 Attitudes and Classification Style

In order to identify which personal characteristics affect attitudes towards the potential causes of TFS, questions asking about the participant's demographic details were included in the questionnaire. The information obtained by these questions could help to identify groups which characterise particular attitudes (May, 2001). This can be used to help target sensitive groups with information or be used to predict where high levels of support or opposition towards individual projects can be expected. The questionnaire was split into two sections. First, by requesting respondent's to indicate the degree, to which they either "strongly agree" or "strongly disagree" with a particular cause presented to them, formed Section One of the questionnaire. Therefore, those questions measure the extent of a respondent's agreement (or disagreement) with each statement, rather than simply obtaining a yes-no answer (preferred by Hewstone, 1986, when measuring attitudes).

Section one was directed by the suggestions from other TFS studies (show in Table 2.4-1 of Chapter Two). Questions were closed ended, requiring the respondent to select a particular attitude choice. All respondents were asked their opinion to the various reasons why someone may take an item from a store without paying for it. They were given a set of possible motivational causes for which they could select the one that best fit their feelings. In addition, as seen earlier in Section 4.2.4 the opportunity was also provided to not respond in reasons if none of the choices given matched their perception.

Secondly, the questionnaire also requested more sensitive information about the appropriate response that represents them, such as, sex, age, and marital status, number of household members, occupation, and education, which formed Section Two. Additionally, within this second section the ethnic details (nationality) of the participant's were requested, in order for this study to group them up accordingly (as recommended by May, 2001). The classification questions referring to demographic information of the respondent were chosen to be presented in the second section of the survey in order to avoid a specific problem suggested by May, that

> 'The problem is that if you ask these questions [classification questions] at the beginning of the questionnaire, it may put people off.'
>
> (May, 2001, p. 101)

Therefore, the study aimed to ask such personal and private information at the end after eliciting their opinions in hope that they will not refuse to answer. Such information was crucial and important for this study. The research had to raise its chances for respondents to be interested in completing the survey appropriately in order of analyzing the answers, known as these *explanatory variables* (May, 2001). The use of section two required a word of explanation to the respondent's otherwise they may fail to see the need of them. Therefore, as guided by May (2001), this study stressed the need to know their demographic information that represents them in order to see how various opinions and perceptions can be related with certain views held by various groups of people. Appendix B.1 of Section 2 shows a description of the demographics asked by the questionnaire.

These particular demographic questions were chosen as they were considered to be the most likely to be related to perceptions and attitudes (see Callen & Ownbey, 2003, the demographics of shoplifting; see Thomas & Farrell, 1982), allowing this study's quantitative comparisons to be made. All of the questions in both sections were closed-end questions of multiple-choice, chooses for the simplicity of participant's response (suggested by Lin *et al.*, 1994). For example, the participant's were instructed to "tick" the appropriate response that represents their opinion and profile. Close-end were chosen over open-end questions mainly because it is easy to score and relatively *objective*, especially when used in Likert-type scale (see Hewstone, 1986, p. 89-92) as this study does. Also other advantages of such closed questions in relation to open questions are that they are cheaper to use and analyse, along with, they also permit comparability between people's answers because of their fixed replies. The disadvantage, however is that people may have not thought about the question which is asked (see May, 2001, comparing the two types).

4.3.2.1 Awareness of the Question

As referred to in Chapter One and discussed in Chapter Three, in most cases each one of us (acting as laymen), is familiar with one or more reasons of why someone may "steal" from a store. This may be characterised to "us" either by the media, storied to us by our corner stores, read in published articles, described from store outlets, seen individuals performing it and/or might have even experienced it ourselves. Importantly, it has been noted in Chapter One how great an effect the specific source of the mass media can have in influencing public opinion about crime causation issues (refer to Section 1.1.6 on peoples opinion and awareness of crime). Therefore, people's thoughts and perceptions of TFS and its causes through this medium will be of interest in this study's end discussion. Obviously, there were no concerns to assess in advance on how aware respondents were of this commonly known issue.

While, confident enough that the problem is acknowledge by the general population based from the literature, it can be said here that the possibility of an awareness response style from this study's targeted sample was employed. This study's survey questionnaire may be also seen as a knowledge test on TFS. That is, the response rate was quite high and hardly any questionnaires were rejections (demonstrated and discussed later), which could be argued with confidence that the participants of this study were in fact concerned and aware towards this type of behaviour. As argued however by past studies (Guffey *et al.*, 1979; Lin *et al.*, 1994; Tonglet, 2001) the degree to "our" understanding of how this behaviour can affect all of us is still a major question waiting to be answered.

4.3.3 Probability Sampling Management

In order for a research sample to be representative of a population, and to reduce the potential for bias, sampling units must be drawn *randomly* (May, 2001), that is, each person in the population of interest has an equal chance of being part of the sample (p. 93). For this reason the way sampling was done, was central to the survey design of this current study. Its was therefore intended for this study to gather data by means of a random victim survey with the aim of obtaining as representative a sample can possible be in order to allow a statistical generalization from sample to the population. However, "truly" random samples can be hard to acquire (see Coolican, 1999), particularly in retail areas where lists of consumers with the most time available for shopping are not clearly defined (Tonglet, 2001) and lists of retail store management and constabulary (police) representatives are not freely available (Lin *et al.*, 1994).

Importantly, Coolican (1999) suggests that the practical goal for any researcher is to remove as much as sampling bias as possible for a reliable statistical generalisation. Additionally, techniques of random sampling the public opinion regarding TFS within shopping areas were cited as an established and reliable method for a representative sample (Prestwich, 1978; Tonglet, 2001). Depending upon its aims, the procedures this study adopts, surveys (through the use of questionnaires) measured *lay* opinions and some characteristics of its respondents. Therefore, the surveys produced quantitative data, which was intended to uncover opinions from the general public, either by those who are interested in, affected by or even involved in some way with this subject issue. Thus, at the same time it could be argued that this study's survey was divided into three groups. For example, the first group were shoppers using the retail environment, which were recited at five shopping locations located in the region. The second group were retail businesses, which were made up of management personnel obtained from the human resource division of each shopping location within that region. And the last group consisted of law enforcement officers who were concerned with local or regional antisocial issues.

A distribution method was selected in order to reach a *random sample* of three groups, which conformed particular characteristics of consumers actively involved in shopping, retail personnel involved in shopping concerns and law enforcement keenly concerned in problematical shopping, with *all* groups affected as equal by such phenomenon. Obviously, the study pre-defined the groups of people it required to represent the target population. In this case a *stratified random sample* was used whereby a stratification according to the "features" (see again Figure 4.1-1) of the three groups, it was therefore decided that this sampling method would be the most appropriate (see Coolican, 1999; May, 2001). Stratifying the sampling method is that units are selected randomly within pre-defined strata, is cited to be one way to reduce the difficulty of obtaining a truly random sample, and it also allows to over-represent a particular group (May, 2001). Therefore, with each group case, the strata of the population this study identified and pre-defined was relevant and supported by previous TFS related studies (see Leaver, 1993).

4.3.4 Survey Delivery to the Victim Sample

First, a selected grid references were marked on the maps and routes of delivery were planned for the retail target group population. Due to the way that stores were arranged in shopping areas (specifically in shopping malls as opposed to centers), the most efficient way to distribute and collect the questionnaires was to identify a 'there and back again' type route, dropping off surveys on the way and collecting them later the same evening on the way back.

The retail respondent at the last store on the route was requested to complete the questionnaire straightaway so that it could be collected immediately. Surveying was carried out between about 10am and 7pm on weekdays and between 11am and 5pm at weekends when it was thought that most retail management would be in store. Management respondents who were in at the time of calling were given a short introduction and asked to leave the completed questionnaire in a place where it could be collected without having to disturb them again. For stores where no management was in at the time of calling, a hand written note was left with the questionnaire in an enclosed envelop addressed to the managements name requesting that it has been left with their store assistant for collection later in two days time. If two days passed and it was clear that there was still no response from the management at store (if the questionnaire was still with the store assistant), then a stamped addressed envelope with a covering letter and a different note requesting that respondents completed the questionnaire and forwarded was left. Hand written notes and an individual reference was used to try to give a personal feel which it was thought might encourage completion.

Secondly, for the shopper\consumer target group sampling in shopping areas was far less problematic but as equally or fare more systematic (May, 2001). Selecting multiple busy locations within the cities of the north-East meant that the respondents came to the questionnaire, the opposite of the store management situation. Places like shopping centers, and shopping mall were visited to get an idea of busy periods, and the most suitable locations and times were selected. All shopping areas visited were either an open shopping market or an enclosed mall. Decisions of where and when to sample were partly determined by the amount of available time in the survey area, but each location was sampled at both a weekday and a weekend and at multiple times throughout the day in order to try not exclude any sub-samples that existed (see Coolican, 1999). Specifically, the consumer sample frame considered day-of-week and time-of-day variations by randomisation of distribution times and proportionalising the daily volume of questionnaires distributed to approximate the daily variance of retail sales in the shopping areas (similar to Guffey *et al.*, 1979, random method on shoppers attitudes toward TFS concern). Systematically selected, this study recognised that in order to remove the risk of consumer group bias, the every *n*th person passing method was used (see Coolican, 1999; May, 2001). In areas where people where passing frequently, such as in shopping malls, every 10^{th} person passing was asked. At less busy localities, where people were static, such as in city shopping centers, every 5^{th} person was sampled. As the questionnaire was designed to be completed without assistance (after the initial verbal introduction) the respondents were left to complete the survey at their own speed. In shopping locations, the majority of the respondents were asked to sit down in close by seating areas in order to be more comfortable in completing the questionnaire.

The above method had the advantage of removing any risk of interviewer bias (May, 2001). Yet, as a covering letter was not considered suitable again for this type of surveying a short and set introduction was given instead. This introduction contained the same information as the covering letter. The content of the questionnaire was the same as that used in the retail sampling. However, by using a stratified method meant that there is less confidence that the sample is representative of the population, but due to the constraints of time, and because general public attitudes are the main focus of the study, it was considered to be the most appropriate method (May, 2001).

Finally, the third target group held that sampling in police headquarters was far more problematic and less systematic. With the consent of the senior officer, flyers were posted inviting officers to complete the questionnaire in order to identify police officers opinions about TFS causal suspects. This study also attended several roll calls over a one week period to present the study in person and invite participation. Officers were informed that the study would be confidential, ensured their anonymity and could be conducted during their off-duty hours witch would require about 10 minutes of their time. Essentially, a covering letter was considered suitable for this type of surveying in order to set introductions. The content of the rest of the questionnaire was the same as that used in the retail and consumer sampling. However, using this method meant that there is less confidence that the sample would respond appropriately due to past studies (Adderley & Musgrove, 2001; Davis *et al.*, 1991; Loitz & Loitz, 1984) who dealt with police force departments (discussed in the logistics section).

4.3.5 Key Stakeholder Interviews

In order to investigate further the true implications of the survey responses (Breakwell, 2000*a*), three informal semi-structured interviews by key stakeholder organisations were preformed in order to pursue if there is a promising relation to the study's final exploratory causal Framework, and to further propose potential qualitative examine. The following section in this chapter gives brief descriptions of the organisations that were represented and explains why they are considered important in relation to this study. An invitation letter was sent out (see Appendix C.2 for invitees) in order to invite the interviewee to meet and express their organisations opinion on the relevant issue interviewed. This section will describe the key stakeholder organisations that were considered relevant by this study and hence the ones which were interviewed. Due to the restrictions of time, as well as the nature of this quantitative study it was clearly not an aim to interview various stakeholders, but it is thought that those informal dialogues offered interesting potential as well as a highlighted the importance of the factors identified by the attitude data.

4.3.5.1 Qualitative Account

The interviewees were chosen on the basis of their TFS experience and knowledge. Thus, interviews were conducted in order to discuss how they viewed retail crime in relation to this study's attitude survey findings, and to further discuss and understand the nature of their strategies to confront and minimise it. The list of the three interviewees is presented in Appendix C.1. The interviews were conducted in February 2005, once conclusions were previously drawn on this study's quantitative exploration. The discussion was based around what they thought about the participant's reactions to the potential causes of TFS, and if it those dynamics reflect with their casual explanations. While, a discussion was also extended towards public opinion in the context of policy making, the importance of the future of TFS and possible strategies tackling such offence were argued.

Another important issue considered was the stakeholders' diversity within the concept of TFS. They did not have a clear idea why people steal. Their arguments made interesting conclusion, and those results considered and stated in the final chapter. Basically, three issues held the key to the design of the interview: (1) attitudes toward the domains of TFS causes, (2) social and culture aspects, and (3) TFS estimated problem vs. regulation and technology. Such semi-structured subject interview format was chosen since it is not bound to direct questions (see May, 2001, p. 123), and is also the preferred approach in the social sciences (see Amaratunga *et al.*, 2002) as well as in particular consumer attitude and perception research (see Mitsostergios & Skiadas, 1994). An open framework of this kind, which allows better for two-way communication, is guided only by some form of interview guide such as this study's template (see Appendix C.1 for the issue discussed). While the questions were not all prepared forehand, the conversation allows both the interviewer and the person being interviewed the flexibility also to discuss related issues and probe for details (following the guidelines of May, 2001). All the interviews were conducted at the participant's residence, and lasted between 70 and 90 minutes.

The interviews sought answers to two main questions. First, what was the stakeholder organisation's stance regarding TFS that are in place currently? Some organisations had an official line, while others could only give general indications of how they would be likely to respond to potential projects. Second, how important is public attitude in policy making? Does the stakeholder organisation consult widely and do they feel that a positive public attitude is required for successful anti-theft program? Finally, from the informal meetings, this study argues, understanding public attitude is all well and good, but if the organisations that might be involved and/or affected by TFS do not need public approval, or are not interested in what the public think, then the importance of this study is diminished.

4.4 Empirical Results: Design to Analysis

4.4.1 Information and Knowledge about Respondents Attitudes

This section moves from the conceptual aims and research hypotheses informing the survey through to its operationalization in this study's questionnaire, to the relevant *analysis*. The causal-perceptual data were analysed and explored to see whether the original theoretical propositions reveal in Chapter Three require modifying or further information suggests itself. Therefore, to go back to the discussion in Section 4.2.3, this process involves both inductive and deductive reasoning techniques of exploratory research, as *abductive* reasoning. In this process of research analysis, the following section embarks on discussing its empirical work and collection data which followed by initiating, refuting and organising its own assumption that enabled the study to understand and thus explain its findings.

4.4.1.1 Pre-Tests for the Attitude Survey

The questionnaire initiated by a field work with expert's concerned and involved direct to the crime of TFS, in order to obtain a better picture of the problem (Amaratunga *et al.*, 2002). It was deemed important to conduct discussions with observation to assist what type of instrument was appropriate to use and the development of that instrument before embarking with a specific research approach. Therefore, it was necessary to identify salient issues and research questions to be thought of, three indicial interviews were conducted with retail management personnel and another two were conducted with the law enforcement agents who dealt with this type of offence in the North-East region of England in January 2003. The resulting discussions from those meetings contributed with various facts and observations which gave support to the instrument used (scale development) and prior validation to its methodological approach.

Nevertheless, a pool of variables (or items) were driven form the literature review, to develop a prototype survey in order to check the external and internal reliability of those variables. Therefore, by drawing on existing knowledge sourced in Table 4.1.1, a pool of 139 items was generated in an attempt to represent the initial domain of the attitude scale survey. After the questionnaire was constructed with the support of its methodological process, the 139 items were presented to three academics who did not participate in the final survey. The academic pre-test served mainly as a check on the layout, examine the items for problems in wording, phrasing, and comprehensibility of the questionnaire. In this first pre-test, each statement was discussed and evaluated in order to make the questionnaire as inoffensive, clear and easy to complete as possible (concerning validating measures is discussed in Section 4.2.5).

Based upon the results of that pre-test examination, the questionnaire was slightly modified and several items were reworded. Additionally, a few minor changes in word order and layout were made, and various spelling corrections, but in general the survey was well understood no items were removed. Nevertheless, as recommended,

> '...even if the initial fieldwork is possible, the questionnaire still needs to be piloted on a sub sample before reaches the full sample.'
>
> (May, 2001, p. 101)

Following May's suggestions, the revised 139 items were then used in the multi-item scale development Stage of the study witch involved 50 postgraduate students. Therefore, the piloting aimed to see if the questionnaire works and whether changes need to be made. Specifically, the 139 items were written in a five-point Likert type scale format, as defined earlier in this chapter and administered the items to a pilot sample (included both males and females) of 50 postgraduate students enrolled for a Masters degree in management at a north-eastern UK university for testing. Although, this study does report in the following section the full analyses of its pilot study (that is, assessing inter-factor correlations, and Cronbach's alpha), it should be noted now that the researcher used the pilot test results to pare down the original pool to 88 items, as well as to a check on comprehensibility, complexity and completion-time. Significantly, the fact that the original scale contains 139 items limits its practicality for future use in other studies as well as it limits the empirical and academic assessment of the scale's validity (see Rozell *et al.*, 2002). Based on these considerations, correlation item-to-total analysis was used to reduce the scale to its most salient statements and to form a more robust instrument in terms of validity and reliability for further assessment.

Initially, this study developed its multi-item scale to assess the respondent's attitudes to elicit a wide range of attitudinal causes by following the widely recognized paradigm suggestions of Churchill (1979) and Cronbach (1955) for developing a reliable and valid multi-item scales. For example, this study first defined a external search construct-of-interest, developed a pool of items from a general search of the literature, and executed various purification procedures (Churchill, 1991; Churchill *et al.*, 1979; Cronbach, 1955; Cronbach, 1990). Therefore, as the original pool of search pre-tested items included 139 items, this study used the scale purification process to reduce the scale down. Therefore, the pilot study general was employed to reduce the original pool of items in the form of standardization and demonstrating a high reliability and validity to the subsequent empirical analyses of the study (Churchill, 1991). Additionally, the procedure revealed no further problems with wording or comprehensibility on the part of the pilot respondents and time completion was calculated. Therefore, this study's instrument was pre-tested, piloted, analysed and adjustments were made prior to the final scale dispatch survey.

4.4.2 Sample Description and Responses

The data were collected through a multi-item attitude scale survey in the northeast of England in which three groups of the general populations' attitudes toward the causes of TFS were analysed. All of the participants were described as 'key stakeholders', or put forward as accommodating *victims* draw from the general public. This study's total sample involved three groups of potential victims corresponding to features coming from actual consumers, retailers and law enforcers, in order to distinguish if the explanations suggested by academics were widely accepted by those groups of the general public. Due to the nature of the sampling method, it was not possible to record any characteristics of non-respondents (age, gender etc), so the results can not be weighted accordingly. The sampling of all respondents was carried out in three major locations; Gateshead shopping centre (MetroCentre), Newcastle shopping centre (Eldon Square), Darlington shopping center (Cornmill), and Durham shopping centre (High Street, Millburngate, and Prince Bishop's) and Durham North East Police Station.

4.4.2.1 Sample's Reaction

The sampling was carried out between May and September of 2004. Five-hundred and forty questionnaires (that is, 180 were distributed to each of the three targeted groups) were distributed using the *hand-to-hand* or *drop-off* and *collect* method. This allowed face-to-face (and store-to-store) interaction with all respondents, so a verbal explanation of the study could be given, and arrangements for when the survey was to be collected could be made. This method yielded a high response rate (66.2%), a total of 357 questionnaires were returned. Out of the 357 responses received, only 7 of the respondents were discarded as they were either blank, inappropriately filled, or gave answers to only one or two questions. Therefore, a total of 350 usable questionnaires were collected with 7 questionnaires rejected as unusable.

Specifically, useable responses of 338 were obtained from the shopping area of shoppers and retailers, and 12 from the police force, giving a total (n) sample size of 350. The first group considered as consumers received 174 answers, which gives a response rate of 97 % of that sample. The second target group consisted of retail management received 164 replies, yielding a response rate of 91%. The third group consisted of law enforcement and as this study expected, this group showed the most apathy in answering the questionnaire. Responses were received from 12 participants a response rate 7%. Such low response rate by police officials in was expected by this study. The difficulty to release information dealing with this specific social problem was cited to be a big problem in surveying (see Adderley & Musgrove, 2001; Lin *et al.*, 1994).

Responses however to the questionnaire indicated that perceptions of the general public were very much aware of TFS. More that 98% stated that they had concerns and an opinion with the potential causes projected to them in the survey. Generally, this suggests that they were generally comfortable with the choices that were supplied. Ideally, they probe for the reason behind each TFS episode, thus we can look at the general motivational pattern that this study's respondents perceived to be triggering TFS behaviour. Overall, this study's response rate was well above the per cent rate considered acceptable in TFS research (see Kallis & Vanier Dinoo, 1985; Prestwich, 1978; Tonglet, 2001). Studies do suggest that a return rate in excess of 25% within the light of the sensitive nature of such topic can be considered well achieved (see Kallis & Vanier Dinoo, 1985). Yet, the reasons for non-responses may be due to inability for managers and law enforcers to release information dealing with the problem (see Adderley & Musgrove, 2001; Lin *et al.*, 1994), as well as shoppers time loss (see Muncy & Vitell, 1992; Prestwich, 1978).

4.4.2.2 Unit of Demographic Description

Questionnaires were presented to three groups that may differ in terms of their attitudes towards the problem, since their knowledge, thoughts and experience are in a different way handled. Accordingly, this chapter now turns its attention in demonstrate the demographic profile of its research participants. All three groups are introduced together in terms of their demographics, since the main aim was to assess the perceived opinion of the general public as a whole. Therefore, the demographic information about the respondents (n = 350) that represented this study are illustrated in detail within Appendix E.1. As distinguished in Appendix E.1 the demographic variable included age, sex, household members, marital status, occupation, education and nationality of respondent, as suggested by other TFS studies (Cox *et al.*, 1993; Klemke, 1992; Krasnovsky & Lane, 1998; Tonglet, 2001).

The demographic profile of the respondents, when compared with regional Census population data (see Census Ethnicity, 2003; and Census Population, 2003), revealed that although the sex, age, marital status, and ethnic group dispersion was quite representative, but the educational and occupational description were slightly upscale. Such as, the survey's respondents 44.6% were male, and 55.4% were female. This is in line with the 2001 Census, were women are now in the majority in the UK population (see Census Population Data, 2003). Likewise, as expected by the relevant literature more women than men responded, since the research was engaged within a proven (see Buckle & Farrington, 1994; see Lin *et al.*, 1994, which was found in their study) women's environment of shopping venues.

The marital status of the sample indicated that just over half of the subjects (55.1%) were without a partner, either single, or separated or even widowed. Similarly with the Census, approximately equal proportions of the population were single and committed. Additionally, there was diversity in the educational and occupational background of the sample. The educational distribution of the respondents varied considerably within the survey, yet amongst all the participants, respondents were mainly highly educated. For example, they primarily came from postgraduate or of higher education. The level of the respondent's occupation was dissimilar within the UK Census (refer to Census Population, 2003). For example, the largest proportions of the respondents were full time employed (51.1%), quite normal with this study since the majority of the sample was aimed for management and police employees.

Finally within the demographic description, this study also examined whether any observed nationality differences were held from its representative sample across the nationality censers. In Appendix E.2, Figure E.2-1 it charts what is currently known about the UK population by ethnic group (see Census Ethnicity, 2003), and by comparing it with this study's sample seen in Figure 4.4-1 below, little variation in ethnicity was observed, concluding that this study's sample was quite representative. Overall, by comparing the all demographic characteristics of this study's achieved sample to the census socio demographics from the northeast region and general UK population verifies that the sample was analogous representative of the population from which it was drawn on.

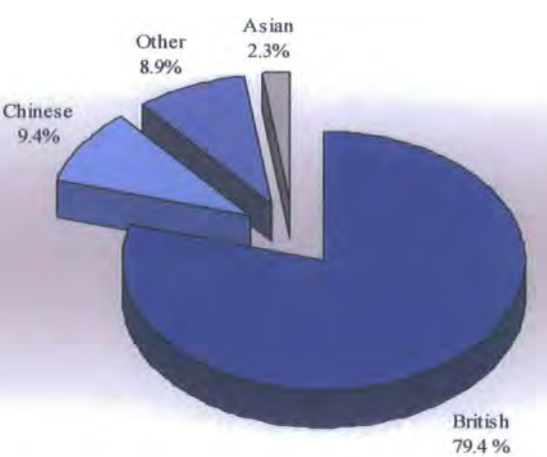

Figure 4.4-1 The Sample Population: by Ethnic Group

4.4.3 Probability Sample Data

The statistics used in this study are parametric, with data from an *ordinal* (attitude score) and *interval* scales (and the demographic categories for example). Parametric statistics are argued to be more powerful than non-parametric statistical techniques, thus, they also make assumptions about data that are more "stringent" (Pallant, 2004, p. 98). Parametric statistics assume that the underlying distribution of scores in the population from which you have drawn your sample is normal (George & Mallery, 2003; Pallant, 2004). Pallant (2004) also states that in a lot of research (particularly in social science), scores on the dependent variable are not normally distributed. To use parametric assumptions the sample had to be drawn from normally distributed population, otherwise non-parametric techniques would have been in use (recommended by Coolican, 1999).

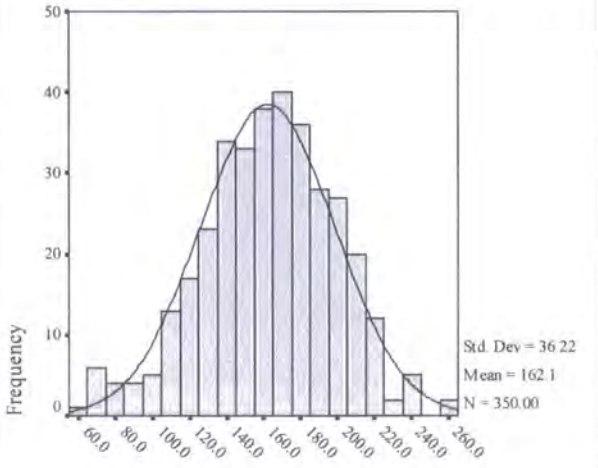

Figure 4.4-2 Histogram of Total Attitude Score

Fortunately, the possibility to apply parametric analyses was feasible with this study's data, since the total scores of all respondents appeared to be reasonable normally distributed when plotted statistically on a histogram. The actual shape of the distribution of this study can be seen in the *Histogram* provided in Figure 4.4-2. Generally, normality can be visually assessed by looking at a histogram of frequencies (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996), or by looking at a normal probability plot output by most computer programs (using SPSS, and since used) (Pallant, 2004). Demonstrated in Figure 4.3-2 the normal distribution took the form of a symmetric bell-shaped curve (as suggested by Pallant, 2004; Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996), that is having the greatest frequency of scores in the middle, with smaller frequencies towards the ends.

While, inspection of the shape of the histogram provided information about the normality of this study's distribution of scores, this was also supported by an inspection of the normal probability plot (labelled Normal Q-Q Plots). In these plots the observed value for each score is plotted against the expected value from the normal distribution. A reasonably straight line suggests a normal distribution (Pallant, 2004). The Normal Q-Q Plot displayed in Appendix F.1, Figure F.1-1 confirms that the data is normally distributed, the points are randomly scattered around the horizontal line that runs through 0 (zero line).

Normality can also be assessed to some extent by obtaining skewness and kurtosis values (see Pallant, 2004, for further information), which can be seen in Table F.1-2 Appendix F.1 labelled *Descriptive Statistics* that provides information concerning this study's variables. While there are tests that can estimate normality by evaluating the skewness and kurtosis values, it is recommended by Tabachnick and Fidell (1996) that it is best to inspect the shape of the distribution (that is, using a histogram), when using large samples (200+ cases) (cited in Pallant, 2004, p 54).

Nevertheless, even if normality (N) can be visually assessed by looking at a histogram, there are statistical tests to perform in order to obtained information determining the proper statistical technique to analyse the resulting data. Statistically, it was possible to find out whether the data obtained from the research correspond to the normal spread, which takes into account arrivals from normality with respect to both skewness and kurtosis. Therefore, a Kolmogorov-Smirnov and the Wilks-Shaprio test were used to see whether this was the case of the normality of the distribution of scores or not. Following recommendations (Brace *et al.*, 2003; Darren & Mallery, 2003; Pallant, 2004) a non-significant result indicates normality (N) that is a significant value of more than .05. Given the results in Table 4.4-1 of these statistics their conditions are normally distributed according to the K-S test, K-S *(350) = .030, p > .200.* The Shapiro-Wilks statistics were also consistent for the approved conditions with S-W *(350) = .992, p > .055.*

Tests of Normality

	Kolmogorov-Smirnov[a]			Shapiro-Wilk		
	Statistic	df	Sig.	Statistic	df	Sig.
Total Score	.030	350	.200*	.992	350	.055

*. This is a lower bound of the true significance.

a. Lilliefors Significance Correction

Table 4.4-1 Kolmovorov-Smirnov and Wilks-Shaprio Statistics

These tests (demonstrate in Table 4.4-1) were used to statistical value the normality of this study's distribution. It is interesting, in view of this discussion of value, to note Siegel's (1956) suggestion that the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test is a test of goodness-of-fit while it concerns with the degree of agreement between the distribution of a set of sample values and a specified theoretical distribution. Thus, it determines whether the scores in the sample can be thought to have come from a theoretical population (Siegel, 1956, pp. 46-48). Equivalent it is possible to perform a one-sample Kolmogorov-Smirnov test alone, as seen in Appendix F, Table F.1-1.

Again if the data depart statistically significantly from normality, the K-S test will be significant. Therefore, with the help of this test, it was possible to find out whether the data obtained from the research correspond to the normal spread, with K-S *(350) = .564, p > .908.* The deviation of the empiric division from the normal one is considered to be essential if the significance *p* is lower than 0.05 (Brace *et al.*, 2003; Darren & Mallery, 2003; George & Mallery, 2003; Pallant, 2004). The obtained information determined the proper analyses methods for this study. Supportive, in all cases the significance *p* was higher than 0.05, which meant that the empiric spread did correspond to the normal spread, and parametric methods had to be used for this research.

4.4.4 Producing Reliable Attitude Scale

The scale development procedure followed the widely recognized in consumer and attitudinal research paradigm suggested by Churchill (1979) (Bristow & Mowen, 1998*a;* Gumus & Koleoglu, 2002) and Cronbach (1955) (Peterson, 1994), which features an iterative process including domain specification, and item generation, data collection, measure purification, and the assessment of reliability and validity. The procedure of construct definition (matrix seen in Table 4.2-1 that was defined as including three dimensions) and domain specification was outlined above by using sources based on the literature review. Thus, a pool of 139 items was generated in an attempt to represent the specific domain of the proposed causes of TFS (causal attributions). Since, having defined earlier the data collection process, the following sub-section will discuss the procedures and measures which calculate the reliability and validity of the data collected in order to assess the quality of the instrument and, thus demonstrate a high reliability and validity to the subsequent empirical analyses (Churchill, 1991; Gumus & Koleoglu, 2002).

4.4.4.1 Multi-Item Scale Testing

In a manner consistent with that recommended by Churchill (1979) and Cronbach (1955) of producing a measure of reliability scale, the multi-item scale data from the pilot survey was first evaluated. One of the main reasons the pilot testing was conducted (among others) was to reduce the initial pool of the multi-items in the form of standardization and stability (Churchill *et al.*, 1979). Clearly, the fact that the original scale contains 139 items limited its practicality for use in other field studies and consequently limits the empirical and academic assessment of the scale's validity (Rozell, Pettijohn, & Parker, 2002). Therefore, the initial pool of the 139 item scale was first required to apply various purification processes to reduce the scale down.

Accordingly, as suggested by Churchill (1979), this study engaged a correlation analysis to reduce the scale to its most salient statements and to form a more robust instrument in terms of validity and reliability for further assessment. Therefore, the first step of purification process was computed with product-moment correlation, often suggested to analyse an initial reliability to determine the internal consistency of the items (cited in Funk & Dennis, 1999), that is calculated between each item and the total score. The number of variables used in the analysis was 139 from a pilot sample of 50 cases. Pearson correlation (r) was used on the continuous variable (i.e. scores on the measure of variables) in order to explore the strength of all 139 items. By following the guidelines of preliminary analysis in social science suggested by Cohen (1988), the strongest relationship should be considered of correlation r = .50 (or -.50) and above (cited in Pallant, 2004, p. 120). Therefore, items with an item correlation of $r = 0.50$ or less were eliminated from the questionnaire, leaving a more reliable scale for further testing (Burns & Ronald, 2003; Parasuraman, 1991).

As a result of this preliminary procedure, 51 scale items were eliminated, reducing the scale to 88 statements. Additionally, another estimate of reliability is the internal consistency of the instrument. Coefficient alpha (Cronbach, 1955) provides a basic formula for determining the reliability. In the analysis of the reliability of the ordinal scale, as suggested by Churchill (1979), items with relatively low correlation with the total score should be eliminated from the scale (supported by other studies constructing reliable consumer scales Bristow & Mowen, 1998*a*; Bristow & Mowen, 1998*b*; Gumus & Koleoglu, 2002). The closer the value of alpha is to 1, the more reliable the scale. Therefore, the Coefficient alpha was calculated for the overall 88 items and the resultant alpha of 0.97 held an acceptable score (Nunnally & Bernstein, 1994) which indicated that the sample of scale items performed adequately in capturing a single construct (Churchill, 1979), and, thus demonstrating a high reliability and validity to the quality of the instrument (Churchill, 1991). Appendix F.2 shows the Cronbach's alpha for all 88 variables.

Therefore, eighty-eight items remained in the pre-final version of the questionnaire. The revised set of variables used in the analysis was 88 from this study's representative sample of 350 cases. Additionally, following the same procedures with the preliminary examination mentioned above, data was collected and the product-moment coefficient r between each item and the total score was also calculated. Items which were not significantly related to the total score or whose coefficient was 0.50 or less ($r \leq 0.50$) were removed, leaving a more vigour scale for further analyses. As a result of this procedure, 31 items were excluded from the final version of the scale, leaving a data set of 57 items to explore this study's hypotheses.

In addition, the coefficient alpha was then measured to calculate the internal consistency of the data to be statistical analysed. Thus, based upon this re-evaluation the remaining 57 statements produced a 0.96 coefficient alpha, holding a strong acceptable alpha score (Nunnally & Bernstein, 1994). Appendix F.2 shows the Cronbach's alpha for all the 88 variables. Virtually all 57 variables achieve an item total correlation of greater than 0.5 (Cronbach, 1951; Cronbach, 1955), which increases the reliability of the quality of the instrument (Hopkinson & Pujari, 1999). Thus, all 57 variables were retained for this study's following empirical analyses, as deletion to any variable did not substantially increase the value of alpha. Therefore, the reliability of the instrument assessed by Cronbach coefficient alpha of 0.96 can be classed as highly reliable (as recommended by Nunnally & Bernstein, 1994) and compatible with the reliability of other researches conducted by this type of exploration in various (Nunnally & Bernstein, 1994)marketing studies (Gumus & Koleoglu, 2002). The 57 item scale was then prepared for this study's hypotheses testing, which will be discussed in detail next.

4.4.5 Attitudinal Measures

The quantitative data was analyzed and the results incorporated into tables. Results are presented in simple terms that focus on the effects of differences in perceptions and attitudes toward the potential causes of TFS. The statistical methods used in this study are T-tests, ANOVA, and factor analyses by Principal Component Analysis, whereby all respondents $n = 350$ were compared in terms of their demographics, perceptions and attitudes. Additionally, Levene's test of equality of error variances was also preformed from the three sample groups in order to look for any violations. All statistical analyses were calculated, and $p < 0.05$ was required for significance for all statistical tests. The following sub-section discusses the results of the survey.

4.4.5.1 Overall Attitudes

The data collected by the consistent 57 variables were used as the indicator to measure the level of support or opposition by the general public to the referred to cause of TFS contained within the questionnaire. Initially, the statistical process of this study was to *explore differences between various socio-demographic groups* this study acknowledged by the body of the existing literature, whereby the primary research question (RQ_1) was created (mentioned in the beginning of this chapter). A variety of analytical techniques were used to answer the primary research question. In order however to answer the first research question, eight (H_1 – H_8) additional research hypotheses (seen in Appendix H.1) were sought to determine if there was a difference in attitudes toward the cause of TFS based on various socio-demographic variables.

Those hypotheses were constructed in order to reveal what attitudes the "key stakeholders" (perceived as the broader public or victims) of this specific crime have towards its causes. Since, the objective was to explore what group of the general public actually attribute the cause(s) to be, and to what extent are these attributions compatible with existing academic research. In order to address broader attitudes toward the various causes, the total attitude scores (dependent variables) and the categorical predictors (independent variables) this study used hypotheses testing. Parametric statistic were used to find out whether there is a statistically significant relationship among the various groups. Most of these analyses involve comparing the mean score for each group on one or more dependent variables and can be calculated on several different but related statistics in this set (see Pallant, 2004, Chapter 10, for a review on various statistical techniques used in studies). Based on this study's research situation the main techniques used were T-Tests and ANOVAs. The type of T-test used was the independent-samples T-test, since two research hypotheses (for H_1 and H_3 in Appendix H.1) had only two *different* (independent) groups of people (males and females, parents and childless) and were interested in comparing their scores (suggested by Pallant, 2004).

To answer the rest of the six research hypotheses (H_2, H_4 - H_8), a one-way between-group analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used to compare the means. This statistical technique was used, because this study specifically was interested in comparing the mean score of two or more different groups of people (independent variable). This technique is described one-way because researchers who use this method are looking at the impact of only one independent variable on their dependent variable (Pallant, 2004). Appendix H.1 – 2 shows the complete hypotheses testing of if $p < 0.05$ rejects null and if $p > 0.05$ retains null. First, as presented in Appendix G.1, Table G.1-1/2, male responses reported a slightly higher evaluation of support than did female responses participating in the study. However, results of the T-test analysis indicated that the difference between male and female survey scores was not significant at .05. Presented in Table G.1-4/5 the childless participants overall attitude toward the projected causes, was slightly higher than parent's response. Yet, again results of the T-test analysis indicated that the difference in survey scores between parents and childless respondents groups was not significant.

A one-way ANOVA was used to test whether significant differences in survey scores will be observed between different marital status groups. Results presented in Table G.1-3 of the ANOVA analysis, indicated that the mean differences among dependent categories were not significant. Additionally, from Table G.1-6/7-G.1-10/11 significant differences in survey scores were not observed between households of different sizes, between different age groups, and between different occupation categories.

However, as illustrated in Appendix H.2 and demonstrated in G.1, Table G.1-8/9-12/13 the results yield only two statistical significant difference in means, that is, between the three different populations identified and between the different sectors of educational groups. Since results of one-way ANOVA analysis indicated that the difference between different sectors of educational groups in survey scores was significant at $f = 3.354$, $df = 347$, $p = 0.01$, highly educated responses (169.16) reported a higher evaluation of support than less educated responses (144.50) participating in the study. Briefly, the less educated group seem to have an unclear opinion on those who commits an offence rather than the more educated group. Finally, significant differences in survey scores were also observed between the three different populations identified $f = 3.211$, $df = 3\ 49$, $p = 0.04$. The mean scores of those finding statistically show that the law enforcement officers (178.08) seem to agree more with the causes projected to them, than those coming from the retailers (157.54). Due to the disproportion of response frequency, however, a Levene's test of equality of error variances was preformed for this analysis in order to look for any violations. Appendix G.1, Table G.1-11 shows the test of homogeneity of three different population variances. Significance value was .420, thus as this is greater than .05 (Pallant, 2004), it has "not" violated the homogeneity of variance assumption.

This section has described the socio-demographics of the survey participants, which showed that some demographic factors are affecting the acceptance of various TFS causes. To sum up, the study's results found that the three groups identified seem to have an impact in the level of support (agreement or favoured) of the potential causes. The results also indicated that education is one of the key driving forces toward the accepting a particular cause. Since 68% of the all participants had university degrees, education had a greater impact in accepting the projected cause. On the whole, attitudinal results were part of the first stage of this study's analysis, in order to answer the primary research question. The following section will result and give explanations to the second stage of this study's analysis. The following section considers the exploratory means which revealed the factors underlying attitude TFS formation.

4.4.6 Exploratory Factor Analysis

In the first stage of the research it was statistically identified that some groups differ to varying extents in terms of how much they accept the explanations of TFS put forward by intellectuals, however this study was still left with a large number of items (or variables). Therefore, this second stage of the study's research analysis dealt with responding to the second research question, illustrated in the beginning of this chapter.

Since the first research question dealt with differences between groups on various causal scale items, the second research question was interested in the strength of the relationship between those wide-ranging items in order to identify an underlying pattern. Objectively, this study was interested to analyse its empirical data in order to expose if the causal explanation academics have offered in the past appear to fall into particular categories or factors in the minds of the respondents. Driven by a branch of 'multivariate analysis' (Lawley & Maxwell, 1971) factor analysis examines a massive matrix of correlations between individual statements in the survey to see if any particular blocks of statements naturally form discrete categories, and thus, identifies a relatively small number of factors that represent relationships among sets of many interrelated variables (see Darren & Mallery, 2003; and Pallant, 2004). According to Pallant,

> '...it does this by summarising the underlying patterns of correlation and looking for groups of closely related items.'
>
> (Pallant, 2004, p. 91)

Thus, factor analysis of particularly principal component analysis (PCA) technique was used in an attempt for this study to produce a smaller number of linear combinations of the original variables, with all of the variance in the variables being used, in a way that captures most of the variability in the pattern of correlations (Pallant, 2004, p. 151). Factor analytic techniques have a number of different uses and two main approaches (for a review, see Brace *et al.*, 2003; and Pallant, 2004) yet with the same objective to reduce and summarize data with a minimum loss of information (see also Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996). However, approached by the exploratory nature of this study, exploratory factor analysis (EFA) was applied since the second stage of this research was planed to explore the inter-relationships among a set of many variables (Pallant, 2004), in order to identify a relatively small number of factors (see Brace *et al.*, 2003). Therefore, this study was aimed to

> '...establish whether one or more factors do underlie a large number of variables; if so, the analysis identifies the number of factors and it also identifies which of the variables make up which factor.'
>
> (as suggested by Brace *et al.*, 2003, p. 279)

Originally, EFA was used to elicit patterns unknown to the researcher and to identify convergences on underlying constructs (see Kim & Mueller, 1978) and sought to be a one of the key methods of construct validation (see Ping Jr, 2003). According to Churchill's study such analysis is a popular technique within the marketing research area to ascertain principal factors (see Churchill, 1991).

Influenced by Churchill's suggestions, in an exploratory structure such as this study, prior knowledge was used primarily to determine the attribute list (i.e. causal items). However, no assumptions regarding the relationship between the attributes and potential underlying dimensions (factors) are made. In fact, the number of dimensions to retain is a *post hoc* decision based on the results of the particular analysis. Often this does not utilise the extent of a researchers (or manager's) intellectual (or market) knowledge. For example, prior knowledge may be determined by the researcher through a specific disciplinary concern or theories concerning the underlying structure (Churchill, 1991), or in markets where the manager may have access to a significant amount of market information, through market research, internal data, past experience, etc. (Vandenbosch, 1996).

Frequently, the motivation for doing a search, beyond that of solving a problem, may be to increase the user's expertise. As demonstrated in marketing research, a result of extensive search for information may be an "information bank" which may constitute a potential source for dissemination to peers (Block *et al.*, 1986). Therefore, even for the experienced researcher it is rare that exploratory research is not undertaken to gain relevant background information (Burns & Ronald, 2003). The popularity of EFA technique was sought in recent market studies,

- to identify customer expectations and customer perceptions on specific service attributed (Gumus & Koleoglu, 2002),
- to identify shoppers' shopping motives and their typologies based on their shopping motives for patronizing stores (Jin & Kim, 2003)
- to identify an consumer framework in practice (Block *et al.*, 1986)
- to identify different market segments using attitudes to shopping and shopping behaviour for retail patronage (Chetthamrongchai & Davies, 2000)
- to identify an underlying structure of consumer satisfaction (Choi & Chu, 2000; Johnson-Hillery *et al.*, 1997)
- to identify an underlying dimensions of meaning of consumption (Hopkinson & Pujari, 1999)

Moreover, it has been also observed that EFA was adopted in previous TFS studies (Guffey *et al.*, 1979; Kallis & Vanier Dinoo, 1985; Klemke, 1982; McShane & Noonan, 1993; Mitchell & Ka Lun Chan, 2002; Moore, 1983) in order to explore what is the underlying structure of their research data explain to be and how many factors are involved. Similarly, the empirical data collected by this study (attitude item scale survey) was factor analysed, which was depended on the major objective of this research to expose if the causal explanation academics have offered in the past appear to fall into particular categories in the minds of the respondents.

By nature and design EFA is exploratory. There are no inferential statistics. It was designed and is still most appropriate for use in exploring a data set, however it is not designed to test hypotheses as the attitudinal analysis did (Costello & Osborne, 2005). It is, as our analyses show, an error-prone procedure even with very large samples and optimal data. EFA was used over confirmatory factor analysis because this study was aimed to develop a framework tool supported on factors that offer a promising explanation of what they are and where they may have came from. It may be possible for further investigation to move to another main approach of factor analysis with the use of confirmatory techniques in order to re-examine the framework identified and to determine if it can be replicated with other sub-samples of "key stakeholders", as well as with different samples populations (Costello & Osborne, 2005). Nonetheless, in this research, PCA with Kaiser's criterion or the eigenvalue rule of greater than one was used to extract factors and orthogonal Varimax rotation was used to facilitate the interpretation of the factor matrix. Orthogonal extraction, using Varimax rotation suits the study's research goal as it attempts to minimise the number of variables that have high loadings on a factor, enhancing the interpretability of the factors (Pallant, 2004).

4.4.6.1 Factorial Results in Stages

The number of variables used in this EFA was the revised 57 item of the scale survey from the same sample of 350 cases. Assessments of the suitability of that data set for factor analysis were taken under consideration from Tabachnick and Fidell (1996) suggestions. For example, the sample size, the strength of the relationship among variables (or items) and the ratio of subjects to items. Tabachnick and Fidell (1996) suggest that the sample size requirements should have at least 300 cases for factor analysis. For an adequate smaller sample size, they do suggest it may be suitable for factor analysis, however, only if the correlation matrix should show 'strong reliable correlations' (p. 640). Therefore, dependent upon the sample size of 350 respondents, and the strength of the inter-correlations among the 57 items chosen, the computation of correlation matrix will test the variables to confirm whether factor analysis is appropriate for the study to complete. Since one of this study's research purpose in using factor analysis was to obtain factors that explain the correlation among its variables (causes), the variables must relate to each other for the factor model to be appropriate. Where correlation between variables is small, it is unlikely that they share common factors (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996). Therefore, through computation of a correlation matrix, the variables confirm that factor analysis was appropriate for the data. The correlation matrix indicated for this study's test that a large number of correlations exceeded the recommended minimum level of 0.3 (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996, p. 641).

Tabachnick and Fidell (1996) take a factor loading of + or ± 0.3 to be significant, and a factor loading of + or ± 0.50 as very significant. They suggest that the larger the absolute size of the factor loading, the more significant the loading is in interpreting the factor matrix (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996). They also stress the importance of the ratio of subjects to items. They suggest a 5 to 1 ratio, which is 5 cases for each item to be factor analysed (see discussion in Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996, Chapter 13). Costello and Osborne, (2005) fount that a large percentage of researchers report factor analyses using relatively small samples. In a majority of the studies in our survey (62.9%) researchers performed analyses with subject to item ratios of 10:1 or less (Costello & Osborne, 2005). A 6:1 point ration was employed for the factor analysis of this study, in order to be adequate and meet the recommended guidelines for EFA (Costello & Osborne, 2005; Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996).

Two statistical measures are also utilised to help assess the factorability of the data: Bartlett's Test of Sphericity and Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) measure of sampling adequacy (Pallant 2003). The Bartlett's test should be significant ($p < .05$) for factor analysis to be considered appropriate, and the KMO index ranges from 0 to 1, with .6 suggested as the minimum value for a good factor analysis (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996). Therefore, the first's step of this study was to assess the suitability of the data for factor analysis. This involved obtaining the attitude data from the 350 responses to the 57 items on a suggested 6 to 1 ratio, inspecting the correlation matrix of coefficient of .3 and above, and calculating the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin KMO that valued at .952, a measure of .900 and above is generally thought of as excellent (Darren & Mallery, 2003), and the Bartlett's Test of Sphericity was significant at ($p = .000$), therefore factor analysis is appropriate (Pallant, 2004). Secondly, when suitability was achieved the data was factor-analysed via the extraction method of PCA by an orthogonal Varimax rotation with Kaiser Normalization (uncorrelated) with no specified *n* factor to identify (extract) the number of underlying factors or dimensions that explained the variance in the data set (Pallant, 2004).

Composite reliabilities and average variance extracted were examined to ensure that the loadings were statistically significant, the composite reliability was greater than 0.50 (Anderson & Gerbing, 1988; Costello & Osborne, 2005). The results of this factor analysis are presented in Appendix I.1, Tables I.1-1/4 and Figure I.1-1. The orthogonal technique, using Varimax rotation revealed that the loadings of each of the 57 items extracted on 10 components. In this study, it considered all factors that achieved eigenvalues greater than one as significant (Pallant, 2004). Therefore, each of those extracted ten factors had an eigenvalues greater than 1.0, and together they accounted for 62.92% of the total variance.

The output however in this EFA whereby 10 components (or factors) emerged, was not considered (Bagozzi & Yi, 1988) a very clear result. Each of the variables did not loaded strongly on only one component, and each component was represented by a number of weak loading variables. It has be argued that often data will 'not' have a straightforward result to interpret (Pallant, 2004). This study aims towards a more easier an reliable interpretation, particularly when the pattern of correlation among the items are clearer (an example of 'simple structure') (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996, p. 675) and have a more optimal, reliable and valid solution (Pallant, 2004). It is only then, when values within the suggested margins for satisfactory are complied to eventually appear to measure some underlying construct (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996, p. 245). This involves each of the variables loading strongly on *only* one component, and each component being represented by a number of strong loading variables (Pallant, 2004, p. 155). Therefore, as suggested by Churchill (1979) and Bagozzi and Yi (1988), this study engaged in further refinement of items for the second episode of EFA in order to present a pattern of loadings in a manner that is reliable and easier to interpret. The refinement process is discussed next.

In an attempt to use a more conservative measure and yet statistically significant, the recommendation of Churchill et al. (1979) and Bagozzi and Yi (1988) was followed. Having defined earlier, ten factors were extracted by a PCA and rotated by a Varimax with Kaiser Normalization of the 57 items, certain items were required to be removed due to inappropriate (low or cross) factor loadings (Bagozzi & Yi, 1988; Churchill *et al.*, 1979; Hinkin, 1992). Table I.1-3 in Appendix I.1 shows the rotated component matrix, and reveals that those items (highlighted) with a loading of less or equal than 0.50 in absolute value on any factor were eliminated from the scale, as well as with any cross loadings.

Churchill et al. (1979) also suggested that items that loaded heavily on more than one factor should be eliminated from further development. However, this was not a problem faced by this data set. Following the recommended guidelines, items with a factor loading of less than 0.50 was eliminated from further analysis. Based upon this criterion, only items with loadings higher than 0.50, and did not load on more than one factor were retained (similar analysis, see Choi & Chu, 2000; Johnson-Hillery *et al.*, 1997). Therefore, based on a critical value of variables loading of 0.50 and above in absolute value was chosen as the cut-off point in determining whether an item defined a factor, thus 18 items were removed, resulting in a revised scale of 39 statements. Those 39 items with strong loadings on one factor on all others, determined that it would be highly significant and would appear to be measuring an original construct (Darren & Mallery, 2003).

Once the factor analysis by a PCA and rotated by a Varimax with Kaiser Normalization was re-run with those 39 items, a seven-factor solution remained, which included a robust set of constructs that were relatively easily interpreted. In theory, this re-run analysis does not change the underlying solution, but rather it will present the pattern of loadings in a manner that is easier and reliable to interpret (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996). Nevertheless, the common-sense criterion for retaining factors is that each retained factor must have some sort of face validity or theoretical validity (Darren & Mallery, 2003). In fact it has been recommended by Darren and Mallery (2003) that,

> '...the factors that have high loadings (e.g. > .5) will have excellent face validity and appear to be measuring some underlying construct.' (p. 249)

The suitability of data for factor analysis was assessed. Inspection of the correlation matrix revealed the presence of many coefficients of .3 and above (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996). Additionally, the two statistical measures which help to assess the factorability of the data were also performed too. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) and the Bartlett Test of Sphericity were used with the revised set of data. As seen in Table 4.4-2, the KMO value was 0.936 exceeding the recommended value of .6 by Kaiser (1974) (cited in Pallant, 2004) and the Bartlett's Test reached statistical significance, that is large at 7719.038 and the associated significance level small at (p =.000). These tests supported the factorability of the correlation matrix.

KMO and Bartlett's Test

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		.936
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	7719.038
	df	741
	Sig.	.000

Table 4.4-2 Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin and Bartlett's Test for the Seven Factors

Therefore, with the revised set of 39 items the PCA with an orthogonal rotation with Kaiser Normalization, and with no specified *n* factor was once more conducted to further examine the data set. As illustrated in Appendix I.2, Table I.2-1, the PCA analysis revealed the presence of seven components (factors) with eigenvalues exceeding one, explaining 62.14% of the variance (see cumulative % column in Table I.2-1). An inspection of confirmation of the screeplot revealed a clear break after the seventh component (see Figure I.2-1). The rotated solution revealed the presence of simple structure, with all seven components showing a number of strong loadings, and all variables (items) loading substantially on only one component.

The composite reliabilities and average variance extracted were examined to ensure that the loadings were statistically significant (Anderson & Gerbing, 1988; Costello & Osborne, 2005). All 39 variables had the loading values for the seven factors range from 0.49 to 0.81, and were considered significant, illustrating a good fit with the seven factor solution explained a total of 62.14% of the variance. Furthermore, to assess the internal reliability of the factors identified, a Cronbach's coefficient alpha was calculated too. Next in Table 4.2-3 reveals all items that loaded strongly on one factor and the value of each factor which held acceptable Cronbach alpha (α) scores that ranged from 0.77 to 0.90 (see Peterson, 1994), well above the minimum value and considered acceptable as an indication of internal consistency reliability coefficient (Churchill *et al.*, 1979; Nunnally & Bernstein, 1994).

Overall, a Principal Factor Analysis rotated by a Varimax with Kaiser Normalization was used to create the factor structure of the 39 items included in the final attitude scale. In order to give each factor a clear and distinct meaning for both theoretical interpretation and practical implication, the orthogonal Varimax method of rotation was used to minimize the number of variables that have high loadings on more than one factor. To determine the optimum factor solution, the following criteria were used for computation of the percentage of variance extracted, and interpretability of the factors. A factor loading with absolute value greater than 0.50, was considered sufficiently high to assume a strong relationship between a variable and a factor. Factor loadings less or equal than 0.50 in absolute value were regarded as insignificant, and the items containing such loadings were removed from the scale. In addition, it was decided that in the re-run factor analysis all factors were retained for the final version of the attitude scale. Furthermore, with respect to determine the number of factors, only factors with eigenvalues greater than 1 were considered as significant. Finally, the factors that were developed were found to measure some underlying construct of the attitude scale since it demonstrated acceptable concurrent validity in relation to such underlying construction.

The resulting contract of the seven factors became the basis for understanding patterns in the data, which was initially aimed for a more reliable and clearer factorial structure. All the seven factors, clearly captures perceptions and attitudes towards the causes of TFS. Exploratory factor analysis revealed that the attitude scale contained seven underlying dimensions, and therefore all factors were labelled appropriately by the body of literature. Comparable themes were identified with existing TFS knowledge and offered a promising explanation of what those factors are and where they may have came from. The interpretation of the finding will be illustrated in the final and fifth chapter, and demonstrate that the underlying dimensions identified in this factor analysis are closely parallel to those dimensions identified in evolutionary theory.

Rotated Component Matrix of the Seven Factors and Items [a]	Factor Loading
Factor 1 Explains 11.08 % Variance[b] ($\alpha = 0.90$) **DRIVEN BY STATUS & WEALTH ACQUISITION**	
A woman does not want to give the impression to others she is not wealthy enough to buy anything she wants, and therefore she takes the appropriate item.	.714
A young woman takes an item because she wants to look better with an item than her girlfriend.	.687
A woman takes an item in order to give a nicer gift than she can afford to her boyfriend or partner.	.670
A woman needs the latest fashion for a night out, and therefore takes the appropriate item.	.617
A man takes an item in order to give a nicer gift than he can afford to his girlfriend or partner.	.609
A man does not want to give the impression to others that he is not wealthy enough to own a particular item, and therefore takes it.	.518
A man takes an item because he believes the item taken will help to impress his ideal partner.	.490
Factor 2 Explains 9.76 % Variance ($\alpha = 0.87$) **DRIVEN BY KIN ESTEEM & RECOGNITION**	
A person takes an item because they believe with the item they now have will help to impress their parents.	.774
A person wants to impress their parents with an expensive item, and therefore take it from a store.	.760
A person takes an item because they want their parents to think they are more successful than their siblings.	.699
A person takes an item because they want to appear wealthier in front of their 'parents' with the item.	.622
A person takes an item because they are trying to compete with a family member.	.620
Factor 3 Explains 9.54 % Variance ($\alpha = 0.85$) **DRIVEN BY PARENTAL INVESTMENT**	
A parent cannot afford a present for their child, and therefore takes the item.	.766
A parent takes an item to please their child because they want to keep their child happy.	.715
A father is unemployed and takes an item because he does not want his family to go without anything.	.672
A parent takes an item because they do not want their child to feel unwanted from their child's friends.	.650
The item is taken because a parent wants their child to wear the same designer brand as other children.	.569
Factor 4 Explains 9.40 % Variance ($\alpha = 0.84$) **DRIVEN BY CHEATER & DETECTION**	
A middle-aged person takes an item because they believe they are least likely to be prosecuted after apprehension than a young person.	.751
A middle-aged person takes an item because they believe a young person is more noticeable to security staff than a middle-aged person.	.721
A woman takes an item because women are better at going undetected than men.	.715
A woman takes a small and lower value item because it lowers her fears of getting detected.	.661
A residential person takes an item because they believe a foreign person is more noticeable to security staff.	.597
Factor 5 Explains 8.57 % Variance ($\alpha = 0.86$) **DRIVEN BY RELATIONSHIP MAINTENANCE**	
A woman takes an item because her boyfriend or partner rejected her.	.769
A man takes an item because his girlfriend or partner rejected him.	.714
A woman wants to appear younger and more attractive with the item she took in order to impress a man younger than her.	.590
A woman wants to appear and feel more attractive with the item taken in order to make an impression on a man because she is unhappy with her weight.	.583
By taking an item a woman wants to appear younger and more attractive with the item she took in order to impress a wealthy looking man.	.552
Factor 6 Explains 7.07 % Variance ($\alpha = 0.84$) **DRIVEN BY PARTNER ATTRACTION**	
A man takes an item to compete with other men for financial wealth because that is mainly what female value.	.807
A woman takes an item to compete with other women for physical attractiveness because that is mainly what men value.	.798
Factor 7 Explains 6.70% Variance ($\alpha = 0.77$) **DRIVEN BY SOCIAL ATTACHMENTSTRUCTURE**	
A person takes an item because they have more self-confidence when they have a 'flashy' and 'classy' item.	.641
A person takes an item because it is important to him to have an item that is similar to or better than their friends have.	.579
A person takes an item because they believe with the item they now have will help them to make a deeper impression on their friends.	.548
A person takes an item because they do not want to stand in the background on social occasions.	.510

[a] 39 Proposed causes captures in seven factors: $n = 350$ – Rotation converged in 7 iterations.
[b] Total Variance explained 62.14 % distributed between the 7 components rotated.

Table 4.4-3 Rotated Component Matrix of the Seven Factors and Items

4.5 Ethical and Logistical Considerations

This study has shown that TFS is a field of study that draws upon a diverse range of disciplines and therefore provides opportunities for researchers to select among a number of disciplines in designing, conducting, and presenting their work. Obviously, researchers concerned with TFS issues draw upon perspectives with their own set of concepts, methods, and procedures. Yet ethical issues arise and concerns are in place with researchers and theorists (see Gross, 2003, chapter 10). The ethical and logistical considerations are a major dilemma in research, whether doing a qualitative or quantitative research (Herrera, 1996). Herrera reviews that researchers and theorists have begun to articulate the particular ethical concerns for quantitative research.

Ethical concerns cut across disciplinary, personal, professional, technical and legal and political spheres (see Lee & Renzetti, 1990). Given these complexities of some research fields, ethical guidelines must be in practice (Gross, 2003). For this study's survey, ethical principles were drawn carefully because given by its nature this subject is extremely sensitive. The ethical issues of the research process by the representative respondents were taken under consideration before any actual data was collected. Given this exploratory investigation with human participants the ethical principles were engaged serious significant (see BPS, 1993). Such as the Code of Conduct, Ethical Principles and Guidelines (see BPS, 2000) were deployed to clarify the conditions of adequacy of this research. Therefore, this study's methodological approach complies with the British Psychological Society's, of ethical guidelines for research involving human participants.

4.5.1 Ethics and its Relation to the Research

This section looks at the actual place of ethics in this study by considering the main ethical issues rose in the research process. Given the interests that guide this research process, ethics were a central part of maintaining the *integrity* and *legitimacy* of the research preparation. Social researchers need to recognise that there are limits to counteracting the wider societies of which we are all a part (see Gross, 2003). This recognition, however, does not license acquiescence, nor relieve a research community from a responsibility for drawing up and conforming to a set of ethical guidelines (discussed in detail next) which are, at least, a being (see May, 2001, for an excellent review on the relations between ethics and social research). As noted by May (2001), the development and application of research ethics is requires not only to maintain public confidence and to try project individuals and groups from illegitimate use of research findings, but also to *ensure its status as a legitimate* and worthwhile undertake (May, 2001, p. 67).

Ethical issues in social science research are very important (Gross, 2003), and must be taken under consideration, especially when considering a sensitive issue such as theft behaviour (see Lee & Renzetti, 1990; Lee, 1999). The selection of an *attributional style* survey approach to this research situation was selected (among other reasons) because of the sensitivity this area holds, as Lee and Renzetti notes,

> '...research involving the investigation of deviant activities has frequently been regarded as having a sensitive character.'
>
> (Lee and Renzetti 1990)

This study escapes some ethical dilemmas from the way in which the questionnaire was stated, which took the perspective of attribution theory. As Chapter Three discussed the use of this perspective has also been previously applied to assist the research and analysis of other applied researched behavioural problems (e.g. surveys on drug usage, physical illnesses, sex industry etc.), as well as cited in consumer research to investigate and analysis of consumer satisfaction. It has been argued that sensitive research raises methodological, technical, ethical, political, and legal problems (Lee and Renzetti 1990), plus having potential effect on the personal life of the researcher (Plummer, 1983). Thus, for sensitive topics like this one raise wider issues related to the appropriateness of methodology approach (Lee & Renzetti, 1990; Lee, 1999), despite the guidelines employed. Even if this investigation which beyond doubt comes under a psychological examination it did "not" perform on human sensations, by means it deliberately creating situations directed to the third person and not to the participant (as mentioned earlier in this chapter). Humans aren't just sentient; they're also *thinking* beings (Gross, 2003).

Gross (2003), suggests that situations that aren't literally, or physically, painful or dangerous, may still be experienced as threatening, stressful, offensive, belittling or embarrassing, or may evoke feelings of guilt, self-doubt, inadequacy or incompetence. Unavoidably, this degree of involvement can raise numerous issues in respect of the researcher's own inherent biases, value judgements and overall expectations of the data, issues that can have an impact upon the eventual interpretation and analysis(Burns & Ronald, 2003). Rather than seeking to constantly control these biases, the quantitative researcher recognised the objective nature of its work to consider the ethical principles. Following the guidelines set forth in order to construct an ethical questionnaire were crucially considered (for example, see Blair *et al.*, 1977). Blair *et al.* (1977) recommends various steps to increase subject's condor in reporting sensitive behaviour. For example, questions were carefully worded to minimize perceived threat to the survey respondents. Ethical issues also arise as a result of the relationships between the researcher and the organisation surveyed (Burns & Ronald, 2003).

Therefore, the researcher of this study took appropriate ethical issues that concerned between the law enforcement officers and retailers. For example, because of it sensitive nature and of interviewing both retailers and law enforcement officers the University of Durham ethics committee[11] had to be advised and approval should be granted (see May, 2001, for commission approval), therefore the necessary procedures were followed and then recommend approval were appropriate to accomplish. Essentially, this research aimed not to cause any offences, by either self-administrated surveys or by interview surveys. It was important for this study to adopt a mutual respect and confidence between the investigator and participants (see Coolican, 1999). Deception was not employed in this research study, especially when involving questions on attitudes (see Coolican, 1999) as this study did. On the other hand, debriefing was examined for any unforeseen negative effects or misconceptions (Coolican, 1999). Apart from any other ethical considerations,

> '...there is a purely pragmatic argument for guaranteeing anonymity for all the participants at all time.'
>
> (Coolican, 1999, p. 479)

Confidentiality and privacy was agreed and given beforehand to all the interviewees participating in this descriptive part of research. Anonymity was also specified to the self-administrative survey respondents. Additionally, the investigator informed and explained all aspect and objectives of the research to *all* participants. Yet, it realised that some participants were often in a position of authority or influence over others who may be their executive. Therefore, this link was not allowed to pressurise the participants to take part in, or remain in, the exploration of the study. When meetings were preformed and the participants were interviewed with their own consent they had the right to withdraw from the research with their information at any time, fortunately this occurrence however did not take place. Finally, the rights were given to the all alike to withdraw from the research at any time retrospectively any consent given, and to require that their own data, including recordings to be destroyed. In this way secures the participant of their data protection (Coolican, 1999; Gross, 2003).

4.5.2 Logistics Handled

Gaining entry into the research fields was one of the most important factor which advantages and strengthens this study in a great deal, because the achievement of successful entrée was pre-condition for doing this research which was considered important as it may affect the relationship between the initial entrée to the setting and the validity of the data subsequently collected (see Burns & Ronald, 2003; see May, 2001). The method of gaining entrée did vary within fields to be studied (that is, police departments, shopping centers, shopping malls and store departments).

Gaining access in all places was prior established and authority was given to the researcher, however three factors were involved in before acceptance when working in the law enforcement department. The first factor was to provide them with a letter from the researcher's institution that acknowledged that the police will not hold any responsibilities of the researcher's psychological and physical well-being. Second, it was promised that the research would not obstruct the work of police officers on duty and that any results would be anonymous and confidential. Finally, it was posited that some results might emerge which would illuminate the whole question and which might eventually influence police. In other words, it was made apparent that the research could not do any harm and there was a possibility that it might do some good. Yet another entry access, which had to be covered with cautious was with the three semi-structured interviews of the selected key stakeholders of this study. An invitation letter was sent to them (refer again to Appendix C.2) asking their permission to meet and the main objectives which will be discussed in the meeting.

In this way data access was obtained by involving the latest data, whether or not these statistics however are valid were not an issue for consideration in this type of research. The access issue is a major problem in this area, whether you are doing a qualitative or quantitative research (May, 2001). As mentioned in this section this project aimed to overcome, or at least to minimize various issues. An important methodological issue perceives gaining access for both department stores and police stations (that is, gaining entry). The empirical research method employed and the strategies supported the collection of suitable data for the initial and final discussion of this study's argument. Rigidly this is one of the reasons why this project forms originality and gradually contributes its unique character.

A seen throughout this chapter the ethical principles were drawn carefully given by the nature of this subject as it was refer to be an extremely sensitive topic. Overall, the ethical and the logistical issues of the research process were taken under significant consideration, before any actual data was collected. As this research intends to apply its research with human participants the ethical principles were seriously important to neglect. As it was pointed out above in the access issues, this research will try to adopt mutual respect and confidence between investigator and participants. Additionally as known this research was preformed under a social psychological perspective; therefore, the ethical guidelines are necessary to clarify the conditions under which psychological research is acceptable (refer to Breakwell *et al.*, 2000; Coolican, 1999).

4.6 Discussion and Summary

4.6.1 Empirical Measures and Analysis Strategy

The social scientific nature of survey research is revealed by the nature of its variables. Variables were classified into two types: (1) socio demographic facts, and (2) perceptions and attitudes. The former refers to attributes of respondents that reflect their social status or their membership of social groups. The latter type of variable is relatively psychological status that includes perceptions and attitudes, and respondent's acceptance to the projected causes.

Statistical analyses with the dependent and independent variables were performed. This study determined differences between demographic variables and attitudinal variables by using parametric tests. The statistical aims were to infer whether any differences observed are representative of the population, and to factor analyse the relationship between attitudinal construct variables in order to identify an underlying pattern forming individual's attitudes. The issues of reliability were preformed since they are very essential because TFS is sought to be a criminal behaviour and serves a sensitive topic (see Lee & Renzetti, 1990; Lee, 1999), and therefore may be subject to dishonest reporting (Cox *et al.*, 1990). Thus, out of the 96 questions in the final questionnaire, eight were related to demographic characteristics, and the remaining eight-eight addressed the various constructs of the study. The demographic variables are recognized as important in TFS research., since they were chosen as they considered to be the most likely to be related to attitudes (see Callen & Ownbey, 2003, the demographics of shoplifting; see Thomas & Farrell, 1982). The study constructs (i.e. beliefs, opinions, experiences, perceptions and attitudes) were measured on five-point ordinal scales.

Ordinal measures indicate, as we stated, rank order and nothing more, because they are not interval scales and have no absolute zero points. Interval scales yield more information than nominal or ordinal scales (May, 2001). However, most of the attitudinal research scales developed to measure beliefs and attitudes are basically ordinal (Cox *et al.*, 1990; Guffey *et al.*, 1979; Kallis & Vanier Dinoo, 1985; Lin *et al.*, 1994; Prestwich, 1978; Tonglet, 2001; Wilkes, 1978). The scales used to measure each of the attitudes were developed on the basis of the existing literature and attribution theory. Measures of perceptions and attitudes were based on using attributions to understand the effect of explanations on respondents reactions, introduced in the second part of the review of the literature. In measuring attitudes one type of scales was used, a Likert-type scale, since it was suggested to measure the same underlying attitude (see Middel & Dassen, 2005; and Mitchell & Ka Lun Chan, 2002). The questionnaire was developed so that each question was focused directly on a specific bias.

Respondents were asked to complete the five-point scale on each statements or question, thereby indicating its importance in defining their beliefs, perceptions and attitudes toward the potential causes of TFS. As already stated in this chapter, three sets of the questionnaires were prepared and circulated to the study's representative sample groups, which was supported by TFS literature (Leaver, 1993; Lin *et al.*, 1994). In addition seen through this chapter, this research took several measures in order to increase the response rate and detect non-response bias. Although all of the questionnaires handed were the same, they varied somewhat in approaching the three sample groups as this study distinct them as "key stakeholders" or in fact "victims". Each question on the questionnaire focused directly on a specific issue and the statements or questions were made as brief and as clear as possible. The analyses performed on the statements, that is the total survey scores of the dependent variable of the study, was calculated on the level of agreement respondents' had with the projected (i.e. intellectual explanation) causes of TFS within the questionnaire. This chapter demonstrates and explained the various steps this study complied for constructing the questionnaire, and then the attitude measurements are presented. The quantitative data was analyzed and the results were incorporated into tables and figures throughout this chapter. Results are presented in simple terms that focus on the effects of individual differences in beliefs and attitudes toward the causes of TFS.

In brief, the three sample groups were compared in terms of demographics and attitudes and were found significant. The statistical methods used in this study were many, both to validate the attitude scale development and to execute the study's central analyses. For instance, the main analysis this study conducted was T-tests, ANOVAs and exploratory factor analyses by using Principal Component Analysis, as suggested in the social research guidelines (see, for example Amaratunga *et al.*, 2002; Breakwell *et al.*, 2000; Churchill, 1991; Coolican, 1999; May, 2001; Pallant, 2004; Parasuraman, 1991). Since, this study was interested to analyse its empirical data in order to expose if the causal explanation academics have offered in the past appear to fall into particular categories in the minds of the respondents, offered a promising explanation of what those factors are and where they may have came from. Therefore, by utilizing exploratory factor analysis, this study found that the attitude scale contained seven underlying dimensions. Finally, this chapter presents a structural framework of seven factors underlying attitude formation. As shown in this chapter and directed appendices, the underlying constructs of the attitude scale demonstrated acceptable validation in relation to the underlying constructs. The next chapter of the present study discusses the results of the survey and the rationale behind the framework identified. Accordingly to this chapters aim, results of the present empirical research have been mentioned throughout, and the interpretations with discussions of its implications are now considered in the final chapter.

An Evolutionary Framework: Factors Underlying Attitude Formation

5.1 Explaining the Function of Criminality

'...little is known about the role of causal attribution in the development of public opinion on crime, but it is likely that the contribution of these perceptions is significant.'
(Flanagan, 1987, concludes, p. 242)

Why is the motive to steal so common among "ordinary" people? While, the phenomenon presents a complex, troubling, and growing social problem, prior studies mainly have extensively expressed their views on potential causes of theft from stores (TFS) in order to provide their comprehensive explanation. These explanations emphasise understanding how a particular cause is operated and what it results in, on the other hand *why* such specific cause exits in the first place, remains unexplained. Concerned studies for instance avoid the key questions on the origin and its functions of their proposed cause(s) within the social phenomenon documented. Similarly, limited information is also available as to what do the general public themselves perceive these causes to be, and studies have ignored the importance of lay perceptions toward familiar causes that are shaped from those who are (in)directly affected and involved in the process.

Whilst recognising the value of earlier studies, this study extends previous research by exploring the reactions of the everyday victimised pubic toward the academic explanations of its antecedent causes. As suggested this phenomenon required a different level of analysis if its motivational antecedents in order to be better understood, and thus take possible actions to tackle it. Therefore, in this final chapter the principal findings are discussed and are evaluated in terms of the study's original aims, proposed in Chapter One. Results provide theoretical and practical contributions, since this common social phenomenon has never been explored before in such a similar theoretical style. Recommendations are pioneered for potential future research within TFS knowledge base, and a theoretical position is proposed that serves a significant purpose. Finally, limitations are discussed, as it is essential for the study because considerations are given to ways in which the study might have been improved and can be advanced for further development.

5.1.1 Exploration of the Social Phenomenon

As documented in Chapter Two, TFS is both controversial and important. The social phenomenon appeared to concern researchers and writers ever since it flourished in the 1950s, accompanying by the movement from service to self-service stores necessitated by rapidly rising labour costs (Durston, 1996). According to Bark's (2002) conceptualisation, capitalist and technological advances posed pressures and built up the attention of TFS as the contemporary version for academic and business professional reactions, which found such social phenomenon to be one of the centrepieces of socio-geodemographic and psychographic questioning, as well as political and economic debate. While, TFS was found to be not just restricted to a problematic business phenomenon, to a store from which goods are stolen or where criminal damage was caused, academics and management concern stressed the troubling affects the whole society has to bear, and with detrimental effect on economic regeneration.

Earlier research value is still fiercely contested by management supporters and academics who framed in the problem (Caruana *et al.*, 2001). Statistics still estimate internationally (BCC, 2004; Frate, 2004) that more than 50% of all business failures (Home Office, 2005*a;* West, 2005*a*) are attributed to TFS, and thus other social consequences follow on from the failure. The business professionals responded to increase in technological systems (discussed latter in this chapter) to tackle their problem, which generates a debate whether if businesses must decide which is more important in order to reduce costs, to catch a thief or to develop effective anti-theft strategies to control it (Taylor, 2004).

In contrast, academics attention has been more to identify particular explanations as to possible 'causes' of TFS and thus their theories to combat it. As documented in Chapter Two, a disciplinary sketch of causal explanations on potential causes gave the foundation for this study's theoretical framework and thus its research investigation with the purpose including a wide-ranging intellectual account of existing cause(s) of TFS. Overall, this study has presented both empirical findings and conceptual discussions from various disciplines, which generally tells us who the potential offender might be, and under what conditions and circumstances an individual may commit such crime. However, the problem is that little is known as to *why* these causal motivations (internal and/or external) have an effect; what really "causes" ordinary people to steal and what shapes their thoughts as well as their actions. This study builds on previous research on TFS and attempt to provide a richer understanding of this social phenomenon. Like Von Hentig's (1948), this study examined the value of the victim's beliefs about the potential causes of such criminality (the propensity), and Leaver's (1993) recommendations on exploring key groups of the general public who are indirectly and/or directly affected and involved in the process of TFS.

As we have seen, this issue was both controversial and important, since numerous popular explanations of TFS and its causes have been based on (often questionable) values and theories concerning who steals or not. However, this study expands victimisation assessments focused by Von Hentig (1948) and extend the work of Leaver (1993). Moreover, this study goes beyond traditional investigations and explores the possible causes of TFS sought by those intellectuals concerned with the issue.

> '...perhaps considering the opinion that came from the public shopper [regarding stealing], may be a hidden and alternative method of shoplifting deterrence.'
>
> John Whatling, Crime Reduction Partnership Manager – Oxford Street Association (2005)

While various social scientists and management supporters have expressed their views on potential causes of TFS, they also suggest additional research may be more effective for strategies if 'tackling the attitudes of society itself' (BRC, 2005, p. 13), that is, by involving public attitudes towards those potential cause(s). There are very few studies on what the general public themselves perceive those causes to be (Cox *et al.*, 1993; Guffey *et al.*, 1979), and the significance of their attitudes towards the problem (Tonglet, 2001). This study presented such data in Chapter Two in Section 2.4. Therefore, this study investigates respondent's perceptions from three important groups of stakeholders drawn from the full range of the general public, rather than limit the sample to adolescents or apprehended offenders as other did (cited in previous chapters). The present research attempts to extend the recommendations of Guffey et al. (1979), Lin et al. (1994) and Cox et al. (1993) in several ways.

To investigate how the public views and explains the causal problem, this study has explored the level of *attitudinal and attributional* integration, which appeared to be of importance for this study in order to examine public perceptions and thus attitudes (as laid out in Chapter Three). Although there has clearly been valuable research within attribution theory and the effect of public causal attributes of crime (Cullen *et al.*, 1985; Flanagan, 1987; Grasmick & McGill, 1994; Young, 1991) there has been almost no input of an attributional style investigation prior to the present work within related TFS literature. This is the space that this study has attempted to fill. While this study explored the utility of attribution style (within which attitudes develop), a fundamental pattern emerged via factor analysis that may understand the development of general attitudes toward the causes of TFS. This research attempts to extend the insights of Cullen's et al. (1985) and Flanagan's (1987), for a promising exploratory framework that explains why public attitudes toward the potential causes of TFS develop. By placing this study's findings in the context of relevant work, it seeks to develop some well-grounded interpretations that can guide future theory and research on this important aspect of such disturbing social phenomenon.

5.1.1.1 Public Attributions of Crime Causation

> *'Several observers have noted that public perceptions are the best way to deal with the crime problem, allowing inferences about causal attribution.'*
> (Flanagan, 1987, p. 236)

The main research objective of this study was to explore causal attribution (key stakeholders perceptions) of TFS among the general public, including the foundation in these attributions that explain as well as influence the development of their attitudes. As defined in Chapter Four, the survey constituted of individual response to potential causes of TFS questions by activating their beliefs, feelings, opinions, perceptions and remembered any experiences toward the attitude target (supported by Gross, 2001). Past research has shown reliably that people's implicit theories about the temporal consistency of their attitudes and other attributes can lead them to rewrite their own histories in memory (Greenwald, 1980; Ross, 1989). Chapter Three has argued based on relevant studies that generally, people tend to recall selectively past behaviours (consciously or unconsciously) that are consistent rather than inconsistent with what they believe their current attitudes to be or even could be (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975; Ross *et al.*, 1981), even if information or knowledge about the targeted object may be inaccurate or incomplete to form those attitudes (Ajzen, 2002). Arguably, this can also increase the relationship between a currently held attitude and future behaviour (Ross *et al.*, 1981).

Despite the advances in knowledge made by various studies seen throughout Chapter Two, the nature of their findings restricted their understanding that they could conclude. As seen in Chapter Two, this study distinguishes that the crime of TFS has many causes and such causes are well documented and researched. Chapter Four showed how this study measured its attitudinal results towards the numerous recommend variable that represent the cause(s) of TFS However, use of their recommended findings set that most variables had to involve a multi-item measure to assess attitudes toward the multiple proposed causes. Structuring the survey however, was the major emphasis in using previous approaches, thus by following Toch's (1979) assumption to isolate the variables (that is, the 'causes') which produces the effect.

Respondents "attributed" the cause of TFS across the scale, which rates the extent of their agreement or disagreement. Probably this may be a novel undertaking, since the wide range of dependent variables (by no means composed to-date) were measured by an causal attributional process (suggested but not studied in relevant knowledge), and in particular, the way in which the general public (that is, the entire sample and not offenders or adolescent samples) responded to each cause to such a commonly committed crime.

Previous research (Cullen *et al.*, 1985; Flanagan, 1987) has supported the relevance of lay attribution of crime causation to individual attitudes. Utilizing an attempt to pursue a line of analysis on key stakeholders attributions, and that causal explanations, given that

> '...nearly everyone else "knows" the causes of crime... [and, thus] are not reluctant to recommend crime control strategies that flow from their understanding of causal mechanisms... [Yet] Academically "certified" [i.e. disciplines] are likely to regard these lay perceptions as simplistic, ill-informed, and irrelevant, reflecting an inadequate grasp of the complexity of the problem,...As a result lay perspective of the causes of crime have been largely ignored.' (Flanagan, 1987, p. 231)

Consistent with this line of reasoning, this study undertook the measures of attribution in order to determine the attitudes for the entire sample. Cullen's et al. (1985) and Flanagan's (1987) both have examined the link between causes and public attitudes, and both studies suggest that public perceptions are the best way to deal with any crime problem, by allowing inferences about causal attribution. Followed by this study's survey, crimes attributed to dispositional factors and to situational factors have been examined (Flanagan, 1987; Wood & Bartkowski, 2004; Young, 1991). Cullen *et al.* (1985) surveyed both the public and groups of criminal justice professionals (lawyers, legislators, prison guards, and correctional administrators) to examine the effect of causal attribution of crime on several dimensions of criminal sanctioning preferences, including general punitiveness, efficacy or rehabilitation as a goal of sanctioning, and support for capital punishment.

Moreover, relationships between attribution style and punitiveness toward offenders (Cullen *et al.*, 1985; Grasmick & McGill, 1994; Young, 1991), and public policy attitudes (Flanagan, 1987; Wood & Bartkowski, 2004) are perceived. These authors argue that the trend in 'public theory' as Grasmick and McGill (1994) refer to the causes of crime is found in beliefs, perceptions and experiences within individual is closely related with a feasible explanation to draw on in theory. The indication from the above studies, suggest that future research might profitably explore the relevance of attributions about the causes of things in public opinion, and claim that how people define a situation or what meaning they "attribute" to any given social element will differentially influence attitudes. In this study's analysis it examined three dimensions concerning the functions of TFS of the attributional process (that is, what people attribute the causes of TFS to be). Specifically, a scale was used to measure the degree to which respondents embrace classical or academic ("certified") explanations of the origins of the causes of TFS conduct. Yet, in assessing the sources of the evaluations of the study, this research did not limit its independent variables to only traditionally array of status characteristics (e.g. age, sex, class) and hence have considered the potential impact of the three different (in experience and influence towards the problem) groups of the populations identified.

Of relevance, however, is that taken as a whole the research pattern this study followed had a diverged from previous author researching TFS. First, some attempt has been made to investigate attitudes toward TFS (Cox *et al.*, 1990; Guffey *et al.*, 1979; Kallis & Vanier Dinoo, 1985; Lin *et al.*, 1994; Muncy & Vitell, 1992; Prestwich, 1978; Smigel, 1956; Tonglet, 2001; Wilkes, 1978). Second, and more important, Guffey et al. (1979), and Cox et al. (1993) both have questioned the credibility of earlier approaches, and suggest that knowledge should be built on understanding public attitudes toward TFS from attributions of crime causation statements. Adding, it has been shown (Blair *et al.*, 1977) and discussed in Chapter Four that such favoured statement tend to increase the accuracy of self-report regarding sensitive behaviours, such as TFS.

In the following sub-section, it will first discuss the extent of reported attributions of TFS causation among the entire sample of the respondents. The exploratory results were distinguished in Chapter Four, which introduced some interesting relationships between the several socio-demographics and the perceptions of the potential causes considered. Next, in this chapter it will provide a summary report of this study's findings and then interpret and discuss the implications of these findings in order to understand the sense of the different categories of respondents which themselves perceive the extent of the potential cause behind TFS. And finally, the analyses of those perceptions were thus considered in greater detail analysis since a consistent pattern of a simpler structure of the present study's causal-perception data would be more constructive towards knowledge. To assess this issue, the analysis revealed that the item (causes) perceived by the respondents fell into various underlying principles, which will be interpreted next.

5.1.2 Public Perceptions and Reactions: Empirical Evidence

The findings from the first stage of the empirical research uncovered some of the common-sense interpretations about the societal perceptions that are concurrent in response to the academic explanations. Using a wide rage of potential causes of TFS it was possible to explore the relationship between different sets of judgments, and understanding those attitudes derived from the general public who have a direct or indirect involvement to the problem. Further, the lay perspectives and reactions towards the projected causes of TFS formed a pragmatic theoretical interpretation on an underlying structure of given reasoning shaped by the various lay attitudes toward the existing cause. Factor analysis was conducted, and the causes composing "attributions" revealed that the explanations proposed by academic research fall into a reasoning pattern, as opposed to the pattern of academic explanations that took the form of dispositional, situational, and/or circumstantial antecedents.

Crucially, the causal explanations these earlier studies shape propose valuable and feasible reactions of (to) how the particular cause came about and what it results in (given that the cause exists) rather to explanations to why that specific cause arose in the first place. The current findings of this research suggests the origins of these potential causes that appeal to the theorising the social phenomenon documented. Initially, two fundamental questions were asked at the beginning of the research process review in Chapter Four of this study.

First, the study seeks to determine what extent are key stakeholders attributions of the cause(s) to be, compatible with existing academic research. While, *research predictions* were followed by the relevant literature poll during the final section of the theoretical and methodological approach of this study (seen in Chapter Three), it was expected that since the representative sample of this study (key stakeholders) will have differing knowledge, thoughts, perceptions and personal/occupation experiences towards the problem (Leaver, 1993; Lin *et al.*, 1994), thus differences will occur in their attitudes toward the causes of TFS proposed by various academics. It has been proposed that while differences exist in individuals, attitudes toward the potential cause(s) would also vary between and within different sectors of demographic groupings. On the whole the attitudinal results revealed the first stage of this study's research analysis, which responds to its primary research question. Participants in the survey were described as "key stakeholders" drawn from the general public.

Having defined in earlier chapters, this study's total sample (n=350) involved three groups of potential victims that is assessing features coming from the actual shoppers, retailers and law enforcers, in order to distinguish if the explanations suggested by academics were widely accepted by those groups of the general public. The incentive was to explore whether the general public who are surrounded by them in their everyday life, consider such explanations to be the *true* cause of TFS. Thus, results suggest that two different sets of demographic groups measured varied in their agreements towards the proposed causes of academics. Significant differences in survey scores were observed between different sectors of educational groups and between the three different populations identified by this study.

First, this study recognized that different levels in participant's educational category were one of the driving forces whether they accepted or agreed with the causes projected to them. For example, highly educated responses (mean 169.16) had reported a higher evaluation of agreement with the potential cause than less educated ones (mean 144.50). Figure 5.1-1 reports this initial set of findings. This set of finding suggests that the less educated group seems to have an unclear (vague) perception and attitude on those who commit an offence.

It is possible however that such educational recognition are purely a function that a very high proportion of well educated individuals would have been already classified as academics or as academically "certified" that suggest those potential causes, and therefore resulted in their favourability. Similarly, earlier studies (Cullen *et al.*, 1985; Flanagan, 1987) observed that higher education often resulted in increased awareness of general criminal causes.

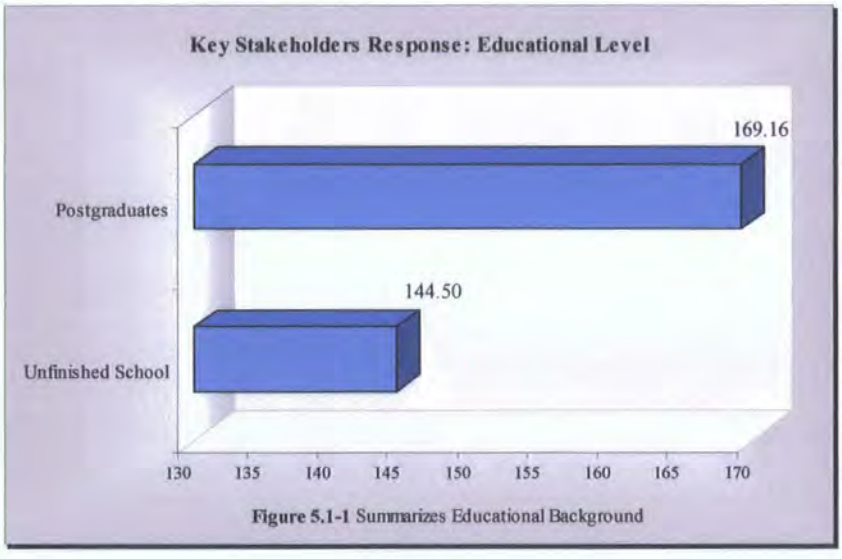

Figure 5.1-1 Summarizes Educational Background

Following the next analysis, there were some interesting variations between the three groups of participant's perceptions as of what may cause TFS. As defined in earlier chapters there are many parties who are affected by this specific phenomenon, therefore the proposed victims of this study where the "key stakeholders" of the analysis that represent the attitudinal diversity of what the general victimised public hold. Significant differences *($p = 0.01$)* in survey scores were found between those three groups identified by the survey, which overall had an impact in their extent of whether they accepted and agreed with the academics explanation as of what causes the problem. Specifically, survey scores statistically showed that the law enforcement officers (mean 178.08) seem to agree more with the causes projected to them, than those coming from the shoppers and retailers. As can be seen, Figure 5.1-2 indicates what each key stakeholder group identified by this study, rated their level of attitudinal agreement on the overall referred causes put forward by existing academic accounts. The analysis showed that the key stakeholders held a differing attitude *($p = 0.04$)* toward the causes of this phenomenon. Therefore, an understanding of attitudes toward TFS of the key stakeholders (consumers/shoppers, retailers, law enforcers) was determined and the extent to which they concur with, or differ from the academic account of TFS as a result of their everyday perception, attitude and experience in this phenomenon was recognized next.

It seems from the finding, summarized in the figure below that the law enforcement population has generally a more positive attitude towards those causes projected to them on the survey.

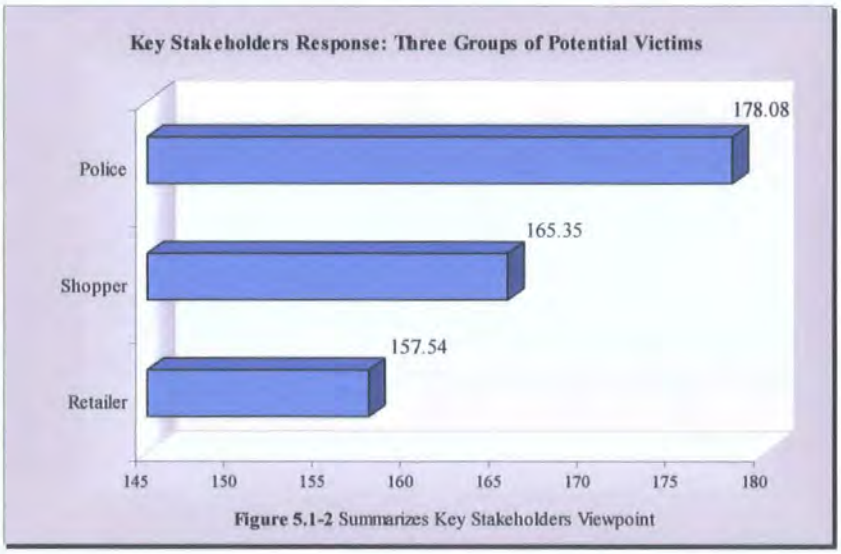

Figure 5.1-2 Summarizes Key Stakeholders Viewpoint

Therefore, based around this outcome it could be argued that various anti-theft strategies are not driven by public perceptions, but merely by the dominant attitudes of a key stakeholder group. Based on these differences in attitudes, the strategies adopted to counter TFS are being driven by the attitudes of those who form laws and act on social order. It shows how policy makers and criminal justice officers respond to the social problem. This echoes McNeilly and Burke's (1998) claims that when a lady was convicted for multiple theft act, she was held to be criminally responsible (law and order), despite her kleptomania disorder. The law enforcement stakeholders could possibly hold different views about the risk of shared generalised assumptions about people based around members of a social group, for example ethnicity, nationality, sex, race and class (Bristow *et al.*, 2002; Shepard, 1992). The pattern suggests that the notion of a common explanation of this phenomenon is important for knowledge, and for managing the problem.

The impact and content of the press have already been referred to in Chapters One and Three. The media, like academics, act as 'causal makers' too. The scope of available research is very limited in this area, although what work has been on is informative. For example, one study showed how individuals explain social problems, with the influences of media use (Sotirovic, 2003). Sotirovic examined the role of media use in individuals' explanations of crime and welfare. Attribution theory and the information-processing approach to media effects provided a theoretical framework for his research.

Sotirovic (2003) found that the media effects on explanations of social problems are enhanced by individuals' patterns of information processing. Insofar as public policy and the actual administration of the justice respond to trends in both public and scholarly theories about the causes of crime (Grasmick & McGill, 1994), trends in the two sources of theory will be able to offer TFS problem. George Vold noted in his book *Theoretical Criminology* in 1958 that,

> '...there is an obvious and logical interdependence between what is done about crime and what is assumed to be the reason for our explanation of criminality.'
> (cited in Grasmick & McGill, 1994, p. 23)

Next, in order to identify what differing attitudes exist among the key stakeholders, further additional analysis was performed to discover whether their causal attributional response could be categorised. Accordingly, the second question dealt with the development of an exploratory framework explaining attitude formation. This question was concerned with the possibility of distinguishing distinct classes of the respondent's causal attributions. Since differences were earlier formed by the targeted samples the types of explanation favoured by stakeholders found to cluster in a manner that is not concurrent with the types of explanation presented by academic research. By further examining the initial causal-perception data, the results revealed strong support for the various dimensions of attitude formation and provided a validating (development process) expectation.

The results of this study indicated that the causal attitude scale consists of seven dimensions (seen in Chapter Four) as opposed to the academic pattern identified by the existing explanatory research poll from this study. While a large number of studies argue that the causes of TFS are frequently multi-dimensioned, there is often more than one reason of why a particular individual has stolen or is willing to steal. Those studies offers explanations in terms of its cause that form a three-dimensional pattern (refer again to Table 4.2-1, Chapter Four). By involving the key stakeholders perceptions and reactions towards of the potential causes of TFS it was possible to identify factors. Therefore, a structure underlying attitude formation was identified, which in turn developed a more insight into how public attitudes towards the causes of TFS are prioritized and formed based on social perceptions and representations of existing causes.

The findings suggest that the factorial structure (refer to Table 4.4.3) describes an underlying construct of attitude formation. The seven factors identified became the basis for understanding a pattern in the causal-perception data used, and all of the seven dimensions captured distinctive attitudes towards why such potential causes of TFS exist in the first place. This study was interested to analyse its empirical data in order to expose if the causal explanation academics have offered in the past appear to fall into particular categories in the minds of the respondents.

Thus, in the following section the interpretation of the resulting underlying dimensions will be illustrated and supported appropriately by the body of relevant theoretical literature. Comparable themes were identified and labelled with existing TFS knowledge, and offered a promising explanation of what those factors are and why they exist. The results suggest insights into the ways in which stakeholders accounts of the causes cluster into particular types of explanation, together with the rationale behind these types of explanations.

5.2 Evolution Inside the Art of Theft-Related Crimes

For this study's purposes it is not necessary to devote to the full theoretical background of evolutionary theories. However, the important issues will reflect on and understand the ideas and resulting links presented in this study. This study argues that by putting the results into ideas in the evolutionary context, enriches understanding and provides a possible foundation for building a scientifically-based conception of general theft intentions. This study ultimately puts forward for further research that a particular evolutionary angle can develop into a valid and useful theoretical framework to adopt in order to understand and explain this complex social phenomenon.

The evolutionary perspective in the social sciences contains two main sub-perspectives, the evolutionary psychology and cultural evolution (Colarelli & Dettmann, 2003). Evolutionary Psychology (EP) is an approach to the modern psychological sciences (Buss, 1995), in which knowledge, principles and results are drawn from biological (socio-biology), cognitive sciences, anthropology and neuroscience. In general, followers research the structure of the human mind (Cosmides & Tooby, 1997) as applied to human conditions within current environments along with key concerns to explain universal human nature (Cosmides & Tooby, 2000).

By helping to explain human nature, this means that evolutionary psychologists use the logic of Darwin's theory of natural and sexual selection as laid down in *On the Origin of Species* (1859) (cited in Workman, 2004, p. 2). While, sometimes called neo-Darwinian (Dawkins, 1976), EP has the potential to be a causal link between natural and social sciences in the sense of explaining social phenomena with modern Darwinian principles as the intermediate link (Cosmides *et al.*, 1992). Given the paradigmatic influence that EP seeks to bring about, it is imperative for other disciplines explaining human nature as it is set today, to be unaware of its propositions and prospective applicability.

Therefore, this principal section is organized into three broad sub-sections in order to understand the application and the relation to this study's outcome. The first outlines the fundamental premises of EP, illustrates the basic theoretical concepts, and reviews the origins of human motivation that depends on underlying psychological mechanisms. The second looks at the growth and acceptance of EP in various relevant natural and social science disciplines within the area of study. It emphasises that this point of view has generated sufficient research interest in areas of criminal theories, as well as relevant theft hypotheses. Finally, the last sub-section provides the potential in explaining and understanding the causes of TFS, by an exploratory framework to explain attitude formation.

5.2.1 Evolutionary Origins of Motivations: Psychological Mechanisms

While, the idea that the adaptive process of natural selection provides a central concept of EP, the emphasis lays on the ultimate rather than proximate explanations (Carroll, 1999; Saad & Gill, 2000). Specifically, EP seeks to answer the question as to *why* a particular perception, reasoning, behaviour, cognition, emotion or social relation exists, rather than only answering *how* it operates and what it results in, given that it exists (Saad & Gill, 2000). The study to respond to why questions, is that, it relies on the basic principle that the human mind is a result of an evolutionary process that operates on the Darwinians principle of natural and sexual selection of human evolution (Cosmides *et al.*, 1992). Boaz and Almquist (1999) provide a detail account of such human evolution (Boaz & Almquist, 1999) by noting that natural selection favours characteristics that aid survival and reproduction. On the other hand, sexual selection favours those traits that help individuals gain access to mates. Overall, the fundamental premise of EP is that it claims to have discovered insights about our universal human nature, pointing to our supposed millions of years of evolution during the Pleistocene epoch (when our ancestors lived in extended families of hunter-gatherer tribes) as the main designer of our minds.

This postulates that the human mind is said to be a set of computational machines or specialized functional components, each of which was designed by natural selection that have evolved only under the regulative force of inclusive fitness (Buss, 1995; Tooby & Cosmides, 1992), to solve specific adaptive problems posed by the social environment of our hunter-gatherer ancestors during evolutionary history, with the intention to control behaviour so that these adaptive problems were successfully addressed (for discussion, see Cosmides *et al.*, 1992; for discussion, see Tooby & Cosmides, 1992). Brune (2002) notes that the concept of inclusive fitness, is the

> '...sum of its classical fitness in terms of survival and reproduction and of the fitness of genetically related individuals.' (Brune, 2002*a*, p. 139)

Therefore, these features of living organisms that display specific and specialized functional components have evolved only if they enabled the organism to pass on its genes more effectively than other competing organisms (see Tooby & Cosmides, 1992). The underlying goal of all these computational machines is to maximize the inclusive fitness of a particular organism/individual. Additionally, from Darwin's criteria of natural selection, an individual is aimed to maximizing reproductive success based on competition, which is engaged by its *selfish* organism (see Dawkins, 1976, a review of the evolutionary strategies of the 'selfish gene theory'). Characteristically, selfishness is ascribed to the individual (explicitly or implicitly) as a substantial final determinant of an individual's attitude (see Madlafousek, 1994).

Through evolutionary history lived in hunter-gather societies, the human mind is in fact composed of these functionally specialized components (Buss, 1995). Therefore, in order to fully understand any universal humanitarian phenomenon today we must comprehend the pressures of ancestral life (Grace, 2001). While designed by our evolutionary history, the functional components that comprise these complex machines are psychological adaptive specializations and frequently recognized as *domain-specific psychological mechanisms* (Barrett *et al.*, 2002; Buss, 1995, 2001b; Buss & Duntley, 1999; Campbell, 2002; Cosmides & Tooby, 1997; Cosmides *et al.*, 1992; Duchaine *et al.*, 2001; Kenrick *et al.*, 2002; Kenyon, 2000; Kirkpatrick, 1999; Park *et al.*, 2003; Pinker, 2002; Wiederman, 1993). According to Buss (1995), these psychological mechanisms are co-opted for very specific goals and their attendant "strategies" or "tactics" will help accomplish existing goals, effectively, efficiently, economically, reliably and precisely, which historically have been linked with solving a particular social problem.

> 'Goal-directed strategic effort arises from psychological mechanisms that owe their existence and form to evolution by natural selection.'
>
> (Buss, 1995, p. 21)

There are various rationales for these premises given that EP acknowledges a universal human nature and proposes that the human mind has evolved many complex and specific psychological mechanisms that are selectively activated and are also sensitive to individual differences (Buss, 1995, 2001b). These evolved psychological mechanisms can be understood as functional organs of computation that solve problems specific to different domains (see Buss, 1995; Cosmides & Tooby, 1997; Pinker, 2002), that is like perception, reasoning about other people's minds (acting as naive scientists – discussed in Chapter Three), emotion, social relations, etc. According to Cosmides and Tooby, the history of human evolution has produced domain-specific mechanisms that are suited for solving problems that humans encounter in its *current society*[12].

Overall, evolutionary psychologists claim that the mind is best thought of as being composed of many complex and specific psychological mechanisms with evolved strategic differences from one another that provide solutions (Buss, 1995; Cosmides & Tooby, 1997). As Buss (1995) put it, there are different adaptive problems typically selected for different adaptive solutions.

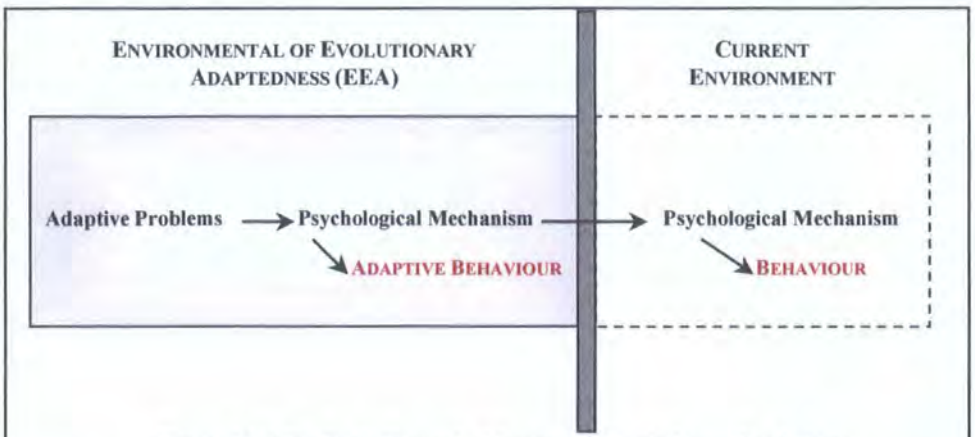

Figure 5.2-1 The Basic Theoretical Structure of Evolutionary Psychology
Source: Derived from Kanazawa and Still (2000, p. 438) Study

Figure 5.2-1 illustrates the basic theoretical structure of EP and suggest that adaptive problem leads to a specific evolved psychological mechanism. Usually, it then leads to a specific adaptive behaviour in the environment of evolutionary adaptedness (EEA), or ancestral environment and it is to the EEA that our mind is adapted (see Kanazawa & Still, 2000). As supported (Buss, 1995) mechanisms vary along many dimensions, yet no fully domain general solution (as there is no general problem) can be used across all adaptive domains, under all individual circumstances (ages, sex, preferences, etc.). Therefore, displayed in complex combinations depending on circumstances, Buss's study argues that *all* species display great flexibility in dealing with social environments, because we posses a large number of complex and specific psychological mechanisms. This view of the human nature, thus the human mind separates EP from those approaches that assume the mind is composed of a number of domain-general, content-independent, general-purpose mechanisms which is programmed by random, culture-specific determinants (the "blank slate" thesis) (see Cosmides & Tooby, 1997), and are usually referred within a Standard Social Science Model (see Popper, 2003, for a discussion on the antagonism between them). As a motivating new discipline, EP has had it fair share of disapproval, concerning the most frequent criticism (see Siegert & Ward, 2002, discussion) and stimulating considerable debate, conflict, and controversy among scholars coming from various disciplines than any other theory (see Gannon, 2002). For example, frequently the accusation is of genetic determination and reductionism, moral and political misgivings, as well as adaptationism (Workman, 2004, explores the concepts and debates that surrounds this new development).

Supporters of sociological theory (see David, 2002) claim that evolutionary followers present their paradigm as replacing, rather than co-existing with current paradigms (argued by Gannon, 2002). It has strong connection with the theory of natural selection, the unit of selection, sources of variation, and the structure of evolved human mind has sparked significant controversy (refer to Gannon, 2002; and Nicholson, 1998, for a review). Given the infinite course, no claims by EP supporters are being made that it is a perceptive merely biology and/or genetic following. On the contrary, researchers of this viewpoint not only recognise, but also explicitly draw on the unique learning and information requirements for making adaptive choices that then contribute to biological and environmental sciences. Evolved psychological mechanisms are necessary for seeking and extracting particular forms of information, which are characterised by a particular set of decisions rules and are essential for producing action on that information (Buss, 1995).

While humans evolved in a complex social environment, theories about the interaction between environmental factors and human adaptive strategies offer a significant perspective if evolutionary approaches are to understand the conduct of modern humans within society (see Rommel, 2002). An EP perspective predicts that any human actions today may be related to phenotypic[13] condition in EEA, that is, the evolutionary environments over the last several million years that were the selective forces that ultimately caused human-specific adaptations (Tooby & Cosmides, 1992). Psychological mechanisms are necessary for seeking and extracting particular forms of environmental information (Cosmides & Tooby, 1997). It also sustains that such mechanisms of learning that make humans responsive to immediate and development contingencies owe their existence to evolution by natural selection (Buss, 1995).

EP offers a theory of how the human brain and mind came to be constructed. According to evolutionary psychologists human beings strength lay in their minds (Cosmides & Tooby, 1997). They tend to shed light on why human beings perceive some things the way they do, why they think and feel the way they do and so on. The thoughts and emotions that best served them were programmed into their psyches and continue to drive many aspects of human behaviour today (Cosmides & Tooby, 2000; Nicholson, 1998). As noted earlier, EP seeks to understand the adaptive nature of organisms by considering the forces of natural selection that give rise to evolved design. The process that underlies human perception and thoughts is an evolved mechanism and the nature of human cognitive design can be perused from an evolutionary perspective (Cummins & Cummins, 1999; Gangestad & Yeo, 1997). In theory, the brain and mind are terms that refer to the same system. However this can be described in two complimentary ways, either in terms of its physical properties (the brain), or in terms of its information-processing operation (the mind)(see Buss, 2001*a*).

Within an EP perspective, the physical organisation of the brain evolved because that physical organisation brought about certain information-processing relationships, ones that were adaptive (Cosmides & Tooby, 1997). As Cummins and Cummins (1999) states that,

> '... [Since] The mind is what the brain does... [Then] The brain (like all other organs) was shaped by evolution... [Therefore] The mind was shaped by evolution.'
> (Cummins & Cummins, 1999, p. B38)

The description of the *mind's actions* is really an account of the *mind's motives* and that there is some internal contest raging in a person between his or her motives and those of their mind (see Hamilton, 2003). Hamilton's (2003) discussion on motives is not really about what may cause an action but is situated in the context of moral evolution, and assumes that human mentality can have motives by a certain kind of evolved psychological mechanism. Illustrated next, evolutionary psychologists have identified a number of evolved psychological mechanisms that are part of the human mind and qualify as being adaptations (Cosmides *et al.*, 1992). Although each of the mechanisms is known to perform specific functions, the fundamental aim is that all evolved psychological mechanisms have a purpose, with specific goals or motives of 'adaptation executors' to the organism (Buss, 1995, p. 10).

For example, Buss claims that these adaptations are executed in current environments, regardless of whether or not they currently lead to fitness or reproductive success. Thus, the human mind (mostly unconscious), activate and execute domain-specific goals, to solve particular adaptive problems (a problem of survival and reproduction). Yet, how things are perceived is because are motivational system directly impose on our survival and reproduction (see Carroll, 1999, for a review on species-typical structure of human motives; and Shepard, 1992).

It would be inappropriate to say that all organisms must attempt to achieve fitness maximization, because any *motivation* an individual has is a result of an interaction between the current environment and the underlying psychological mechanism dealing with that particular domain (Duchaine *et al.*, 2001). While, EP assumes that most behaviour in the EEA (refer again to Table 5.2-1) maximizes inclusive fitness of the organism, it also recognizes that out current environment may be completely different from the EEA (Kanazawa & Still, 2000). However, Kanazawa and Still note in their study that our psychological mechanisms are still the same as they were in the EEA and produce the same behaviour as they did in the EEA. They recall that this may lead to the distinct possibility that our behaviour in our current environment might be completely "maladaptive".

Any change in the environmental input could result in behaviours that are not adaptive and often 'worse off' in terms of survival and reproductions (Kanazawa & Still, 2000, p. 439). For example, the common preference for collecting further material resources is an adaptive mechanism to the scarcity of possessions that was prevalent in the ancestral world. Therefore, our reaction to that decision to acquire more resources by performing any means to attain them in ancestral environments would have been functionally adaptive to enhance inclusive fitness. If we take the case of TFS it may appear to make little sense in these terms. After all thievery is sometimes links with arrest, impotence and imprisonment, factors that we hardly associate with maximizing of fitness, and thus, such preference of acquiring resources can become maladaptive. This however, does not undermine the fact that the psychological mechanisms are adaptations designed to solve adaptive problems in specific domains (Duchaine *et al.*, 2001), because there could be still an evolutionary advantage for individuals today to adopt a strategy or a goal even if they resort to illegitimate means (Kanazawa & Still, 2000).

Overall, an evolved psychological mechanism is a set of processes inside an organism that solve a specific problem of an individual survival or reproduction recurrently over human evolutionary history, and are usually regarded as evolved solutions to those specific adaptive problems (see Buss, 1995). Those solution are distinguished as evolved adaptive strategies that usually determine that all manifest actions depends on underlying psychological mechanisms (Buss, 1995). Vitally, no human actions living in a human nature can be produced without those evolved psychological mechanisms. Buss also notes that human nature requires particularly forms of environmental information or input (can be external/internal) for its development. Once developed, all mechanisms require particular forms of input, either extracted or received from the environment to be activated into output through a procedure that specifies to the organism to function properly to a particular adaptive problem it is facing and solves it.

The adaptive problems faced by ancestral humans have given rise to a corresponding set of fundamental psychological goals that guide contemporary human cognition and behaviour within specific domains of social life. Yet, in various domains individual differences are also faced with different adaptive problems, and thus the need to solve the problem involves different information input with different strategic solutions (such as, factors in sex differences). Recurrent different environmental inputs into species-typical mechanisms can produce stable, strategically patterned individual differences)(see Buss, 1995). There are undoubtedly many recurrent environmental individual differences, and therefore,

> 'Goal-directed strategic effort arises from psychological mechanisms that owe their existence and form to evolution by natural selection.' (Buss, 1995, p. 21)

According, to Kenrick et al. (2002) adaptive selectivity is how we attend to the information most relevant to important domain-specific goal. And, our responses to that environmental information are informed heuristic decision-rules that, in ancestral environments, would have been functionally adaptive to facilitate each species reproductive success (Kenrick *et al.*, 2002, p. 348). Nonetheless, Buss (1995) suggests a broader set of fundamental human goals, each linked to an adaptive problem posed by the environments in which ancestral humans lived. He provides a set of broad specific principles linking diverse behaviours in humans as well as other species. Based on Buss's literature search, he discovered various domains of social life associated with corresponding fundamental goals. These evolved mechanisms are coped for very specific social goals, such as successful intrasexual competition, mate selection, mate attraction, sexual intercourse, mate retention, reciprocal dyadic alliance formation, coalition building and maintenance, prestige and reputation maintenance, hierarchy negotiating, parental care and socialization, and extraparental kin investment (cited in Buss, 1995).

Coming from a later study, Kenrick et, al (2002) proposed a framework that specifies a set of six evolutionarily fundamental social goals that place predictable constraints on emergent processes within and between individuals, influencing their dynamics over the short-term, and across developmental and evolutionary time scales. Specifically, the fulfilment of each *social* goal serves the ultimate function of passing on one's genes to future generation. The gaols are self-protection, coalition formation, status-seeking, mate choice, relationship maintenance, and offspring care. Additionally, all these social goals also predictably influence the dynamic emergence and change of cultural norms (refer to Kenrick *et al.*, 2002). Similarly to Kenrick's (2002) proposition of an evolutionary framework, which emphasised the centrality of motivational systems and the specificity of mechanisms designed in order to solve particular recurrent problems.

In 2000 Kenyon's pointed out (within the Salmon study, *Principles of Evolutionary Psychology*) a set of underlying domain-specific mechanisms allied to give living organisms (with different species-features) the best chances of survival and reproducing in their environment. These underlying mechanisms are appointed for very specific goals and their attendant strategies or even tactics, which historically have been linked with solving a particular social problem. Noteworthy, Buss (1995) and Kenrick et al (2002) claim that the central concern of scientific advance is to identify those principal factors or a structural framework that specifies fundamental domains of social life associated with corresponding goals that serve the ultimate function of passing on one's genes to future generation.

This study can confirm that researchers are determine to uncover the various goal-directed strategic effort that arises from an underlying evolved psychological mechanisms that are universal mutual between humans and owe their existence and form to evolution by natural selection. As seen in Table 5.2-1, this study adopts and supports Salmon's notes, which overall maps out a finite structure of underlying domain-specific mechanisms that may well emerge within evolved human minds, in social interaction, and across human population (cited in Kenyon, 2000, report).

UNDERLYING PSYCHOLOGICAL MECHANISMS
▪ Attracting a Mate
▪ Choosing a Mate
▪ Raising Offspring
▪ Kin Recognition
▪ Maintaining Relationships
▪ Acquiring Status
▪ Cheater-Detection
▪ Maintaining Group Cohesion

Table 5.2-1 Evolved Psychological Mechanisms
Source: Derived from Kenyon's (2000)

5.2.2 Evolutionary Perspectives in Criminal Theories and Thievery

While, this study makes the case that if the human mind can be explained by reference to an ancestral environment in which we evolved, relevant research must acquaint itself with evolutionary theories about criminality (not criminal behaviour) in general, and the propensity to *victimful offences* (i.e. steal from others). It is important to state that their assumption, however ventures far from Cesare Lombroso's famous 19th century proposal regarding criminal atavism (see Gibson, 2002). This study reviews some of the important, as well as relevant literature in this area that views the origins and functions of criminality and/or law-breaking as an evolved adaptive strategy to solve specific problems designed in human ancestral environments, and own their existence to evolution by natural selection. In this observation, characteristics such as the lack of the sense of right and wrong are not viewed as a deficit, but as an advantage in the context of exploitative reproductive strategy (see Rowe *et al.*, 1997).

Various studies on antisocial and criminal traits depend largely on circumstances and conditional factors (i.e. spatial and environmental) almost to the exclusion of individual (i.e. genetic and biological) ones (Lytton, 2000). Lytton's study considers and suggests that what is lacking chiefly from science is some knowledge and understanding of the reciprocal influences between human genetic nature and its current social environment in the development of antisocial and criminal attributes. However, as reviewed in Chapter Two, mainstream criminology, psychology and medical literature have claimed that genetic factors make a significant contributions to criminality and the propensity of humans to victimise others (see also Hollin, 1989, and; Rowe, 2002, for a review).

Over the years modern evolutionary theories (EP followers) have converged on a simple but powerful premise of natural selection to explain criminality (Adler, 2003; Brannigan, 1997, 1998; Browne, 1996; Campbell, 1995; Campbell *et al.*, 1998; Campbell *et al.*, 2001; Daly, 1996; Daly & Wilson, 1999; Ellis *et al.*, 2002; Ellis & Walsh, 1997; Euler *et al.*, 2001; Figueredo *et al.*, 2001; Kanazawa & Still, 2000; Mysterud & Poleszynski, 2003; Quinsey, 2001; Spriggs, 2000; Starzomski & Nussbaum, 2000; Thornhill & Gangestad, 1999; Williams, 2002). Literature in EP approach to human violence, aggression, and other criminal offences has grown (Hamilton, 2003; Mysterud & Poleszynski, 2003). Yet, the question here is of how far *other* theories are able to explain criminality in general whereas by fundament attributes (Fetchenhauer, 1999).

Chapter Two has illustrated that rational choice theories (refer again to Carroll & Weaver, 1986; Farrington *et al.*, 1994; Fetchenhauer, 1999) provide valuable information towards explaining causes of criminal deviance. Specifically, Fetchenhauer's study that gave attention to the assumption that all behaviours act selfish. His study supports the assumption that goal-directed purposes for crimes operate in very selfish ways. Therefore particular attention was sets out for a neo-Darwinian view of human natural selection in which socially determined individual as well as environments are dominated by the evolutionary strategies of the "selfish gene" (see Fetchenhauer, 1999).

To the degree that a particular antisocial or criminal characteristic is prevalent in a universal population, triggered various researchers to follow EP assumptions that particular criminal explanations are likely to have contributed to the reproductive success of the ancestors of the individuals current living (Ellis, 1998*b;* Ellis & Walsh, 1997). Thus, researchers formally investigate the possibility of genetic influence towards criminal theories. Yet, one reason most social scientists are sceptical about genetic influences in criminality is that it seem improbable why people want to commit an offence that is defined differently in every society could have genetic foundations (see Ellis & Walsh, 1997).

In 1998, Ellis also proposes that natural selection can only operate on traits that have at least some genetic foundation.

> 'The possibility that evolutionary forces are behind general tendencies to victimize others does not mean that the most victimizing individuals are necessarily reproducing at the highest rates. The reproductive advantage for persons who frequently victimize others may be similar to that of predators whose reproduction rates substantially vary depending on the prevalence of prey and whether or not the prey have evolved effective evasive strategies.'
>
> (Ellis, 1998*a,* p. 82)

Evolve psychological mechanisms such as the ones that compel human criminality and the propensity to victimful offence others, mostly operate *behind* conscious thinking (Kanazawa & Still, 2000, p. 437). According to Kanazawa and Still, young men feel like being motivated to violence or want to steal others property, but they do not know why. An EP theory of specific TFS may also be considered by imagining that a hypothetical mutant gene arose in a small searching society inclining one group member to be unusually stealing toward the benefit of others, and in this society, these group member individuals would probably be not accepted in their society unless he or she learned to freely use his or her thieving impulses. Not only would there be many more potential victims, but the chances of being identified as the perpetrator would be diminished (cited in Kanazawa & Still, 2000, study).

While, this may sound somewhat extreme, humans are usually not privy to the evolutionary logic that placed the specific psychological mechanisms in the mind to solve such adaptive problem. It is claimed that criminals themselves are usually unaware of the ultimate cause of their action (see Buss, 1995). Therefore, they are not consciously pursuing reproductive success when they tend to commit a crime, and as it will be illustrated latter in this chapter, their preferences along with their desire for such serves as the proximate causes in order to explain the social problem. Criminality that stems from evolved psychological mechanisms is often claimed to be maladaptive in our current environment, since it is so different from the ancestral environment.

The psychological mechanism that compels humans to be criminals and steal from others assumes that there are no third-party enforcers of norms in the form of the police and the courts, because such things did not exist in the ancestral environment. Yet, the fact that criminals today can have lower reproductive success than law-abiding citizens is immaterial for the claim that the psychological mechanism that produces criminality was once adaptive in the ancestral environment (Kanazawa & Still, 2000). The logic of such requires, Kanazawa and Still's claims that various psychological mechanisms have evolved before informal norms against criminality emerged in the primate society in the course of evolution.

In fact, Ellis's study also supports this speculation that criminality would be classified as a criminal offence if committed by humans, and is quite common among nonhuman species that do not have informal norms against such acts (Ellis, 1998). While EP leads investigators to the hypothesis that much human effort are attended by strategies that will be directed toward accomplishing various goals that historically have been linked with fitness, it is possible to link such prospect. Remember Buss's (1995) claims that goal-directed strategic effort arises from various social psychological mechanisms that own their existence and form to evolution that have evolved to deal with (these) numerous unique complexities.

Yet, the focus of EP is in species-typical psychological mechanisms that pose different adaptive problems for different individuals, since human species are not the same. Some examples are genetic differences, socio-economic differences or even different mate preferences and are in some sense environmental too (Buss, 1995). Regarded as one class of individual differences, EP supporters lead to explore sex differences in criminal and antisocial offences from human nature psychological mechanisms. Men and women have different reproductive strategies (Campbell *et al.*, 2001; Cary, 2000). Campbell (2001) addressed an evolutionary model of sex differences in criminality offences with both sexes and offers the promise of providing a coherent theory of why women are more likely to be involved in specific theft offences from men rather than other criminal activities such as violent crimes. She claims that resource shortage drives both property and victimful offending in women.

> 'Theft is indeed the crime in which women's involvement comes closest to that of men.' (Campbell, 1999, p. 210)

Additionally, thievery offences reflect women's attempts to provision themselves in competition (female-female) for securing valued males (see Campbell *et al.*, 2001). In humans as well as in other living species, females make a higher parental investment than do males (Ellis, 1998*a*), thus, competition among males is high because the associated payoffs in terms of reproductive success are higher also. Campbell and Ellis propose that females are goal-directed for a higher parental investment than males. Yet, while offending women's are studied, men's victimization has well before received considerable scrutiny by evolutionary psychologists (see Daly & Wilson, 1988). They claim that dominance and resource holding are strongly linked among males. This study argues that even if both sexes are part of the same evolved system of human nature there are significantly directed to different strategic goals. Thus, by taking the concern of this study's exploration, TFS includes the appropriation of others resources without direct physical confrontation and surreptitious taking of others' property. From the viewpoint, the propensity to commit TFS is a manifestation of resource competition without any element of physical violence.

Campbell's studies have found that unlike violent crimes where the proportion of female involvement remained remarkably constant, property crime increased dramatically, especially during a period which the proportion of single women in poverty grew. This may also link with Gilfus's findings that theft by women is sought to link to economic need and occurs as part of their domestic responsibilities for providing for their children (Gilfus, 1992). This trend can support previous studies, that women are predominating among men and is cited as a popular stereotype for TFS (Abelson, 1989*a;* cited in Krasnovsky & Lane, 1998).

As considered in Chapter Two the results that women have always been well and over represented in theft offence may support this evolutionary view, that women's may commit TFS because they perceive they have to solve a specific adaptive problem. Yet, another line of research has tackled age differences in TFS, however as this section will explain this can be also linked with evolutionary assumption of strategic individual differences. Remember in Chapter Two that there is a high degree of consensus within TFS empirical research that individuals under 20 are most likely to be apprehended for the offence, a demographic characteristic that does stand out. Yet, studies based on apprehension data support interesting findings within TFS knowledge by discovering a sharp decrease in TFS offences that occurs as adolescents mature (see Cameron, 1964; Cox *et al.*, 1990; Klemke, 1982; Klemke, 1992; Kraut, 1976).

This similar pattern of decreased involvement in TFS with age was also reported by Osgood et al (1989), in their study. Specifically, their study found that TFS declined, both in the number of offences and in the number of those engaging in this behaviour, as the respondent matured. These studies generally support the view that many individuals may simply grow out of such behaviour as they enter adulthood, yet such claims fail to offer a useful explanation of TFS prevalence. While the validity and universality of the invariant age and crime curve (with some minor variations), are beyond dispute in the literature, there currently is no satisfactory theory that can explain *why* the relationship between age and criminality, takes the shape that it does (Kanazawa & Still, 2000).

EP studies also find that criminality rapidly rises during adolescence, peaks in late adolescence and early adulthood, and then equally rapidly declines through adulthood (see Kanazawa, 2003; see Kanazawa & Still, 2000). Therefore, in 2000 Kanazawa and Still's study offered an evolutionary psychological explanation for the invariant age and the crime curve. They extend Daly and Wilson's (1988,) theory of homicide and explain all types of violent and property crimes as consequences of young men's competition for access to women's reproductive resources. The theory posits that young men become rapidly violent and criminal during the years right after puberty.

An EP perspective may argue that a person stealing something operates mostly behind conscious thinking (Kanazawa & Still, 2000). That is, a person wants to steal others property, but they do not usually know why. Their preferences and desire for stealing serve as the proximate causes of their actions, however, the person is usually not privy to the evolutionary logic that placed the psychological mechanisms in their mind to solve the adaptive problem. Yet, these mechanisms interact with the external environment created by cultural norms and influence our perceptions towards a specific social problem.

Thus, thieves themselves are therefore unaware of the ultimate causes and are not consciously pursuing reproductive success when they engage in such criminal activity. In other words, a proximate explanation may be thought of as a 'here-and-now' account, but an ultimate one explains an individual's internal state or response in terms of how these might have been adaptive in our ancient past (cited in Workman, 2004).

A parent may steal an item in order to please their child since they feel it will keep the child happy (cited in Rouke, 1957; Schwartz & Wood, 1991, studies). A proximate explanation suggests that the parent cannot afford the item and therefore steal it. It may be obvious that the main cause for that parent to steal would be lack of economic sources (i.e. low income), however, an ultimate explanation in contrast, suggests that those ancestors who happened to have genes that led them to ensure their children to be happy and pleasant would then have been prepared to make a special effort to seek them out in order for they grow up strong and survive to reproduce (i.e. parental investment). Keeping children cheerful and happy links with their wellbeing and fitness (Bjorklund & Pellegrini, 2000; Campbell, 1999). This may be a possible adaptive problem confronted and the strategic solution likely to be successfully achieved to pass on their genes.

Therefore, the ultimate level of explanation is the level at which appeals to EP hypotheses (Hamilton, 2003; Rowe *et al.*, 1997) and theories (Charlton, 1996; McAndrew, 2002; Quinsey, 2001; Simpson & Gangestad, 2001). Yet, understanding why TFS is caused is important for completing the causal sequence from the proximate social science theories to the biologically based natural science theories. According to Buss (1995) proximate causes of a specific attitude could not exist without the existence of an evolved psychological mechanism. EP provides this intermediate link of causation through the evolved mechanisms embodied in the human mind. As a result, it is actually the evolved psychological mechanism that is the 'ultimate cause' of the various proximate causes. The function of the ultimate explanation is to 'specify' and thereby enable predictions or exclusions of certain proximate mechanisms (Hamilton, 2003, p. 84).

It is worth noting that evolutionary theorists often distinguish the two categories of causal variable: ultimate causes and proximate. Even if the focus of above evolutionary studies is in criminality, antisocial and thievery as possible ultimate causes, it is important to think of these two categories of variables as complimentary, not contradictory (Ellis & Walsh, 1997). Accordingly, in this section this study briefly identified some of the ultimate causal explanations that may affect the probability of the possible proximate causal TFS explanations. As reviewed in Chapter Two, various causal explanations derived from traditional academic TFS theories, tend to not to include an ultimate causal explanations for their future suggestion and end presumptions.

Many of these traditional explanations, however generally enlighten us with information of who the potential offender might be, under what conditions and circumstances an individual may commit such crime. Usually, these phenomenon oriented approaches identify sometimes interesting and frequently counterintuitive patterns but then tend to explain them solely by reference to proximate causes. Therefore, evolutionary theory should be accepted by various scientists across disciplines to include the examination of a possible ultimate explanation for the propensity of victimful offences. According to Ellis and Walsh's (1997, p. 259) claims,

> '...evolutionary theories are in no way in opposition to the idea that other variables, both biological and social, both contribute to criminal behavior...the explanations for criminal behavior are likely to involve complex interplays among learning and genetic,...[factors], all operating within a complex evolved social system.'

These studies mentioned above as well as in the following sub-section, are clearly just the start of the exploration of this important ultimate mechanism. And only when various scientists accept and acknowledge evolutionary premises will be able to explore the ultimate probability of their final explanations of their conclusions. According to Hamilton's (2003) notes, only the ultimate level of causation explains 'why' the proximate causes exist in the first place.

5.2.3 Evolutionary Logic Underlying Attitude Formation: Exploratory Framework

'The discovery of an underlying, specific-typical goal structure to these strategies will constitute a major and lasting scientific advance. Research informed by evolutionary psychology will facilitate this important scientific advance.'
(Buss, 1995, p. 21)

In this study, empirical evidence is presented that the overall public perceives that humans steal to the effect that some sort of forces could confer an adaptive advantage for victimizing others. Human's today are living in contemporary societies where modern social conditions and commodities exist, and it only makes sense in our consumer-obsessed culture that people steal.

While the belief and desires to acquire goods, whether legitimately or illegitimately, has a direct and obvious correlation to the widespread TFS phenomenon, the EP connection can be taken a step further. More than just a means of acquisition, TFS allows people to gain immediately *more* in their current environment than the "commodities" itself through the very act itself. For an EP framework underlying TFS may be manifested by the evolutionary environments EEA over the last several million years, which were the selective forces that ultimately caused human-specific adaptations. As this study revealed previously, various studies support that because modern humans live in environments replete with evolutionary novelty (e.g. modern consumption, economic challenge, fashion trends), criminal and antisocial activities may be associated to the same extent as previously (Daly, 1996; Daly & Wilson, 1999).

According to Daly and Wilson (1999) humans have an evolutionary history during which selection-guided phenotypic and genotypic changes occurred. Although natural selection is not the only cause of evolution, it is the only cause of adaptations. Like the rest of the body, the mechanisms of the human mind is the result of multiple adaptations, solutions to problems that influenced the reproductive success of individuals over the evolutionary history of the species (Buss, 1995). And as discussed earlier, our species posses various domain-specific psychological mechanisms that have evolved by EEA in order to solve particular contemporary adaptive problems, which can be deployed individually and in complex mixture of goal-directed strategies depending on multiple circumstantial and conditional causes. Thus, the empirical method used by this study to evaluate its hypotheses for its primary research questions and to consider its propositions, resulted to a significant and illustrative pattern that approaches and supports the EP principles. The analysis of the survey response data suggests that the identified structure, measures an underlying construct of attitude formation.

This study will attend to the information most relevant to the domain-specific goals or strategic effort that arises from seven underlying psychological mechanisms, proposed by evolutionary theorists. It also shares similar grounds with Salmon's illustrious finite structure of underlying domain-specific mechanisms (refer again to Table 5.2-1 in this Chapter, as well as Kenyon, 2000, reports). The resulting structural set was labelled appropriately under an evolutionary understanding that explains the ultimate causational attributes underlying the drive of TFS. As it will be illustrated next, all the seven key domains of social life extracted will be associated with corresponding fundamental goals and will also share a common assumption that natural and sexual selection has forced on humanity over numerous generations in ways that offers an advantage to ordinary individuals to victimise others (i.e. steal) under certain conditions and circumstances.

Figure 5.2.2 presents the exploratory framework that was addressed by an EP approach. Seven factorial illustrations of potential domain-specific drives for evolved psychological mechanisms are seen in the Figure, along with their hypothesised functions. The first factor clearly reflects perceived inferences of attitudes toward a *status and resource acquisition* as of causes TFS. All items that load strongly on this factor involve a driven attraction towards financial possessions, particularly where it stresses that a person desires to experience a higher economic status to impress its goal-directed effort through the very act itself. It is claimed that because females use male status as a cue for mate selection, males are more likely to be concerned with possible loss of status. This mechanism is likely to promote selective attention to impression attraction, economic wealth, and other indicators of relative economic status.

Clearly for both sexes, as studies suggest (Kenrick *et al.*, 2002), there are adaptive advantages to gaining and maintaining status, including greater access to material resources and extended social alliances. Theories have supported the desire for more and more economic wealth and status-striving, especially in the case of males (Ellis, 1998*a*). Thus, a person may need or desire to steal an item because he/she believes that it will help to impress his ideal partner in any strategy striving. This, however also means it is expressed in ways that so benefits are gained upon others which is considered today as illegal and that such conditional tactics could extend beyond attracting a mate towards other forms of delinquency (see Daly & Wilson, 1988) even if it is perceived to be an effective for their goal direction method of gathering superior resources (Daly, 1996). As it will be also discussed in another factor, competition for status and resources is central to the ability of males to attract and impress partners (Buss, 1994; Campbell, 2002; Campbell *et al.*, 2001; Campos *et al.*, 2002; Ellis, 1998*a;* Gangestad & Simpson, 2000; Kummerling & Hassebrauck, 2001). According to Rowe, et al (1997, p. 107),

> '...criminal activity is a rapid and effective method of gathering resources with which to attract a mate...'
>
> (Rowe *et al.*, 1997)

Symons (1979) also suggests that in general males with the most resources are likely to be those whose genes are fittest. Thus a higher status male is the best choice for a husband and a sexual partner. Therefore, females can be extremely competitive for economic wealth. While, the means of material resources and economically successful, the belief that a man can provide to his partner will offer a reproductive advantage to the beneficial women to enhance the fitness of her future offspring (Campbell, 1995). As supported by Campbell's (1995), there are likely to be considerable reproductive benefits for women who succeed in securing these highly valued men, it may well be to her advantage to actively compete with other females for them.

For the status mechanism contends, EP predicts that males have been naturally selected by female mating preferences to strive for status, especially in the form of securing ready access to resources either legally or illegally (Ellis, 1998*a*). For evolutionary theorists, status is linked with greater resource entitlement and consecutively related with greater survival and reproductive advantage (seeColarelli & Dettmann, 2003). For example, more economic resources can the display of high-status consumer goods and thus can be a signal sending of mate value. A man who wears latest faction expensive clothes is signalling to potential mates (and male rivals) about his resources and skills at acquiring wealth and such men are generally perceived as more attractive by females. Then again, Colarelli and Dettmann found women displaying high-status consumer goods are also sending signals about their resources and expectations for resources.

Similarly, as two of the reasons sought by non EP followers that loaded on this factor found, either sex may steal in order to offer a nicer expensive gift than they can afford to their partner. EP researchers (see Saad & Gill, 2003) propose that men view gift giving as more of an economic/social exchange as opposed to a pure expression of love or affection as women do, thus for that reason it will be only valued highly by their partner. For example, if the person can not afford ones gift, he/she will result to steal it, in order to solve the problem faced. Supporting this reasoning, this study found that any allocation of gift expenditures for an ideal partner links with higher risk taking. Evolutionary predictions that propose an increased willingness in men and females to take risks, especially to acquire resources or gain status, is seen as a trait valued highly by either of them. Seeing that, Chapter Two mentioned studies which found that the possible economic causes of TFS were triggered by lack of financial resources and monetary gain, it is reasonable to assume that potential offenders are closely related with resource shortage, as well as rising unemployment levels. This suggests that a person of reasonably modest means with entrée to steal from stores can give the impression of having more status and resources than he actually has by resulting to illegal actions such as TFS, for either the underlying psychological mechanism or the ultimate function of goal pursuit.

The second factor clearly captured perceptions of attitudes toward *kin esteem and recognition* as a manifested cause for TFS. All of the items loading on this factor refer to, increasing family respect and concerned, kin recognition and competition, and family impression. On the whole, this factors stresses that a person desires to experience a higher economic status to impress a family relative through the very act itself. It suggests that because people believe that by displaying high economic status consumer goods to their close genetic relative they are also sending signals on successfulness about their reproductively relevant resources. For example, for better and more food, better and more mate opportunities.

The evolutionary approach argues that because families are comprised of close genetic relatives, a high degree of cooperation and concern is expected between their members (Emlen, 1997). Reasons loading on this factor signal that caring and feeling for a kin member was strongly associated for an individual to steal. Supporting this reasoning, evolutionary research supports that people are more likely to give their estates (features of caring) to kin than nonkin (see Smith *et al.*, 1987). Moreover, evolutionary theory notes that natural selection will favour individuals who incur costs to help another when it is in their genetic self-interest (Buss, 1995). The concept of kin selection is widely used in the application of EP theory of criminal and antisocial behaviour (Ellis, 1998*a;* Ellis & Walsh, 1997).

According to Ellis and Walsh (1997, p. 232), it refers,

> '...to the idea that individuals can often help ensure the representation of their genes in subsequent generations not simply by having offspring of their own, but also by helping other close genetic relatives.'

Of course, conflicting and competing traits (especially, between siblings) are also expected because the reproductive interests of parents, offspring, and other family members are rarely identical (see Brune, 2002*a;* Emlen, 1997). Based on the items loading strongly on this second factor, it is possible to argue that this kin-directed function opens the door to various social strategies and counter-strategies that people may use that affect not only one's own reproduction, but that of others with whom one is genetically related. Therefore, this mechanism is likely to promote kin selective attention in order to invest in family relationship, impress and attract with economic wealth, and with other indicators of relative social successful status.

The third factor reflects perceived inferences of attitudes toward concern *Parental Investment* for TFS reasoning. All of the items loading on this factor offer an explanation for a need in economic wealth with the goal to invest in offspring care, and thus survival through the very act itself. Predictions derived from evolutionary psychology and the parental investment model were tested in a field study of individual differences (Baize & Schroeder, 1995; Bjorklund & Pellegrini, 2000; Bjorklund & Shackelford, 1999; Brune, 2002*a;* Buss, 1994; Rommel, 2002; Rowatt *et al.*, 2001). Results support the parental investment model of human mating preferences (Baize & Schroeder, 1995; Buss, 1994). For example, relative to men, women spend more time caring for their children (Bjorklund & Shackelford, 1999; Buss, 1995). Differences in the quality and quantity of parental investment affect children's development and influence their subsequent reproductive and childcare strategies (Bjorklund & Pellegrini, 2000). Thus, EP sees this psychological mechanism as offspring care, because parental care is critical to offspring survival, it is an essential goal itself (Kenrick *et al.*, 2002).

For example, women may steal for their children in order to provide any supplies they need and desire. Criminal and antisocial EP theories state that the mother's presence is more critical to her offspring's survival and hence to her reproductive success than is the father's (Campbell, 1999; Ellis & Walsh, 1997). Thus, evolutionary theory support that women have evolved higher parental investment than men do. However, male lower parental investment are also evaluated (Ellis & Walsh, 1997; Ketelaar & Ellis, 2000; Rommel, 2002), and claim that they also are inclined to provide parental care (especially for the cases of unemployment) such as provisioning food and shelter for his mate and his offspring. Strictly environmental theories (Elliott & Ellingworth, 1996) make the same prediction, but as usual they posit different socialisation and environmental accounts for the key TFS motive.

Overall, evolutionary theorists have posited that contemporary men and women may differ in their specific psychological mechanisms. Specifically, this is to do with mate selection because different strategies would have benefited men versus women in our distant ancestral past (Wiederman, 1993). For EP theorists, and as noted next underlying mechanism, because females have been naturally selected to prefer males who will make heavy parental investments (fathers), the *cheater detection* strategy (seen below) is likely to only be successful when it entails the use of considerable deception (Ellis, 1998*a*). Therefore, because of the unequal parental investment of the sexes, their sexual strategies differ (Rommel, 2002; Rowatt *et al.*, 2001; Wiederman, 1993) for their ultimate cause of TFS will too.

The fourth factor clearly reflects perceived inferences of attitudes toward the mechanism of *cheater and detection*, as to TFS causes. All items that loading strongly on this factor involved particularly that a person is equip with various profile methods for the purpose to detect risks and possible treats to one's self by using a series of strategic techniques to deceive (or avoid) the victim, and thus cheat and take advantage of others along with the system through the act itself. An EP assumption resulted in the identification of the associated psychological mechanisms that it may help to solve adaptive problems associated with such a situation. For example to become more descriptive, it is the mechanism for different individuals to risk recognition, and the mechanism for deceiving, cheating and manipulating their challenge. Cosmides and Tooby (1992) first presented a series of experimental evidence to suggest the existence of such a cheater detection mechanism, which only operates in social conditions. Cosmides and Tooby (1992) provide evidence (whereas provide solid evidence) to this effect, and explanation for the evolved reproductive strategies rooted in detection, deception and cheating (see also Cosmides & Tooby, 1997; Tooby & Cosmides, 1992). They suggest the activation of the cheater-detection procedure is not restricted only to social exchanges theory, but also to the case where one person is entitled to a benefit only when some requirement is met and is called "social contract theory".

Nevertheless, several evolutionary theorists have argued that the best way for cheaters to avoid detection is for them to go so far as to even virtually deceive themselves. Thus self-deception may have evolved as a character trait that helps 'cheaters' fool others (see Ellis & Walsh, 1997, p. 233). Criminal and antisocial theories (Ellis, 1998*a;* Ellis & Walsh, 1997; Walsh, 2000) also assume that people may be genetically prone to be extremely deceptive and otherwise prone to take advantage of others by victimisation. Importantly, this study stresses that all causal items were derived from strictly non-evolutionary theorists, thus such promising prospects of EP explanation can overlap with the ones that are derived form those classical social, environmental TFS theories.

Moreover, according to criminal and antisocial EP theories mentioned earlier, women evolve higher parental investment that men do. Thus, it may be possible to believe that females are better at detecting risks and cheating others. Significantly, all items loading strongly on this factor reflected that men do not necessarily have an involvement in such mechanism to cheat and detect any threats and dangers as opposed to women.

Consistent with the above, EP supports that women are much better then men in encoding and decoding non-verbal behavioural signals (see Grammer *et al.*, 2000). Grammer et al. (2000) refer that from the earliest childhood, females exhibit more and more expressive, non-verbal behaviour than males do. For TFS, people believe that the mechanisms that women evolve based in such non-verbal skills, lead to the prediction that they are expected to recognise and control their actions without being detected and apprehended (i.e. store security officer, CCTV) in order to steal resources from the store slowly and carefully, and thus as EP argues, will then allow all long-term investments in her offspring. Recalling Ellis and Walsh's study supporting cheater detection theory, theoretically they propose that males will use their evolved strategies to develop devious techniques for thievery to acquire resources quickly (nor carefully), and will then end with extremely low investment. However, female's evolved strategies will use just about any tactic that works to trick as well as persuade if caught to increase her chances foe her offspring's to survive.

Men however, are likely to cheat and deceive women with status symbols better, whereas women use deception to enhance their physical appearance (see Grammer *et al.*, 2000; and Thornhill & Grammer, 1999). On the whole, potential offenders are trying to cheat the social system and, in a way, many of the arguments on social exchange systems make evolutionary theory more compatible with traditional sociological explanations. Following, both the fifth and sixth factors reflect a desire for mate selection and preservation as a cause for TFS. However, all six items loading strongly on one of these factors mainly relate to *relationship maintenance* and the other relates to *partner attraction.* The fifth factor that reflects perceptions of relationship maintenance, compel strategies of partner preservation and enhancement, with the mean evidently to improve and maintain their ideal relationships for eventually to marry them and have children.

While a person is motivated to act in extreme ways in order to maintain a successful ideal partner, evolutionary theory similarly argues that because human reproduction cannot occur without mating. The majority of these forms of mating relationship aim to specifically maintain relationships in order to get married and produce offspring's at some point in their lives (Buss, 1995). And because their offspring's are helpless and slow to develop, their survival is enhanced by the presence and support of both parents.

Therefore, maintaining a suitable mate (i.e. to maintain a marital relationship), such as one who is dependable, resourceful, and reproductively capable is an advantage to human reproductive success (see Buss, 1995; and Kenrick *et al.*, 2002). According to Buss (1995) long-term relationships constitute human solutions to many of the survival and reproductive problems our ancestors faced. Thus, long-term cooperative mating relationships would have been adaptive.

This psychological mechanism may direct attention to information relevant to decisions about relationship maintenance, including investing in high status resources, resources that shape pointers of attractiveness and youth on the social horizon in order to avoid any rejection (separations and divorces) by their partner, and thus may end in their successful reproduction. As illustrated in detail in the following factor identified, EP theorist suggest that successful mating is a task that must be accomplished for successful reproduction, thus the goal directed strategic efforts arise from this psychological mechanism for both sexes, however the strategies used to attain them vary widely (see Buss, 1995). While, with factor six it seems to capture a purely drive for *partner attraction,* it is also about maintaining and investing in the relationship taking place. However, from this factor it seems to represent a moderately different type of mate selection and preservation from factor five. This motive to steal is mainly perceived to be driven towards "attraction" for successful mating. Yet, the principal task that must be accomplished for attraction is through "competition". Thus, similar to relationship maintenance, goal-directed strategic efforts arise from this psychological mechanism for both sexes, and the strategies used to accomplish them differ, but both are shaped to evolution by natural and sexual selection.

All four items loading strongly on this factor involve a goal for mate attraction to impress the opposite sex with economic wealth, compete for economic wealth and for physical appearance. In 1989, based on a series of cross-cultural studies, Buss established universal differences in mate preferences between humans, and proposed that across those cultures males tend to value physical attractiveness and youth in their mate choice, whereas females value financial prospects among their mates (see Buss, 1989). By explaining both factors identified by this study's empirical analysis, EP theory recommends that access to viable mates is essential to reproductive success and thus, survival.

Males and females are likely to attend to somewhat distinct set of features in the other sex. For instance, empirical evidence in men preference among partners support that they prefer physical beauty in women and are attracted to younger women becoming increasingly attractive (Campbell, 1999). Thornhill and Grammer (1999) found that women's physical attractiveness in face and body honestly signal hormonal and perhaps developmental health (see Thornhill & Grammer, 1999).

Therefore, while men are attracted to youth and other indicators such as body appearance for female fertility, women on the other hand may attend more to indicators of socio-economic status for overall genetic fitness. Other recent evolutionary theorist also have developed hypotheses and support similar predictions about sex differences on the basis of parental investment theory of human mating preferences (Bjorklund & Shackelford, 1999; Buunk *et al.*, 2001; Grammer *et al.*, 2000; Kenrick *et al.*, 2002; Pawlowski & Koziel, 2002; Rommel, 2002; Rowatt *et al.*, 2001).

These recent studies suggest for example, as seen also earlier in the third factor, women have the higher investment in their offspring since they have more to lose from making a poor mate choice, relative to men (Bjorklund & Shackelford, 1999). Yet, an former study claims that this does not imply that men are not cautious in mate selection and that they do not choose actively or try to control female approaches, but attractiveness produces more a better target of male choice (Baize & Schroeder, 1995). From an evolutionary perspective, it is not surprising that men prefer to pay more attention to signs of youth in a mate because this signals fertility. In contrast, females should in general prefer somewhat older males, whereby males who have achieved the status to provide resources and who still have many years ahead to remain a good provider (Wiederman, 1993). Thus, maintaining youth and physical attractiveness has been found to be a dimension of a main concern among women and especially young single women. The cultural and media-based social forces[14] are agents of causality and only highlight these dispositions (Saad & Gill, 2000). Here the results report that women stress more importance on enhancing their looks as opposed to men. As claimed, by this study's informal interviews

> '...young girls usually steal lipsticks, make up, etc. and when asked they reply that they stole the product due to lack of money.'
>
> John Whatling, Crime Reduction Partnership Manager – Oxford Street Association

This account does not falsify the fact that (the ultimate cause) she may have stolen the cosmetic in order to appear physically more attractive because she didn't have the resources to buy the product. Based on these grounds, a real case study mentioned by a strictly sociologist in 1991 by Schwartz that a 22-year-old female was convicted of petit larceny. Schwartz's examination supports that she was not feeling pretty or sexually attractive, and in some vague, unspecified way she hoped that cosmetics (as she was caught stealing) would encourage her husband's affection and attention (see again Schwartz & Wood, 1991, study). Thus, the appeal of cosmetics to women and for the success of the cosmetics industry, the function of cosmetics (even stolen) is to enhance physical beauty.

Notably, according to evolutionary theory, competing[15] strategic solutions are likely to be successful to confront an adaptive problem faced (Buss, 1995) in order to successfully reproduce. These theories have supported intense competitiveness for economic wealth and status-striving, especially in the case of males (Buss, 1994; Buss, 1999; Ellis, 1998*a*). Thus, this competitiveness is expressed in ways that so benefits are gained upon others which is considered today as illegal. Most notably, competition for status and resources is central to the ability of males to attract and impress partners (Buss, 1994; Campbell, 2002; Campbell *et al.*, 2001; Campos *et al.*, 2002; Ellis, 1998*a;* Gangestad & Simpson, 2000; Kummerling & Hassebrauck, 2001).

At the same time, extreme competition between females for physical attractiveness can be undertaken by females (Buss & Duntley, 1999; Campbell, 1995, 2002; Campbell *et al.*, 2001; Heffernan *et al.*, 2002; Henss, 2000; Hume & Montgomerie, 2001; Marlowe & Wetsman, 2001; Shackelford *et al.*, 2000; Streeter & McBurney, 2003; Tassinary & Hansen, 1998; Thornhill & Grammer, 1999; Tovee *et al.*, 1999; Wade & Abetz, 1997). This female competitiveness for body and facial appearance has been also cited in the area of TFS literature (Campbell, 1981). Female competition for desirable partners has been documented cross-culturally, with emphasis placed on well-resources rich males (Buss, 1994; Campbell, 1995; Campbell *et al.*, 2001). They support the view that female–female competition involves competition for high-quality males for mating and marriage partners. Women typically compete with one another for resources by presenting themselves in ways that are viewed as attractive to men.

Overall, based on the various evolutionary findings of sexual selection, it was suggested that men would display an enhanced striving and motivation for acquiring material resources and economic wealth because that is what females value in men, and women aim to maintain youth and physical attractiveness because that is what men value in females. This would translate into men having a greater risk propensity toward TFS, just as women have toward maintaining youth and physical attractiveness. Thus, an EP argument for this study may be that males who are competitive and resource striving to moderate theft degrees, and potential women thefts are competing for physical attractions most favoured by natural selection. This study analysis also supports that desperate circumstances may propel women and male into TFS to acquire desired resources (the motivational pressures) and to secure a mate.

The final factor captures attitudes toward a drive of *social attachment structure* for the propensity to commit TFS. All of the items loading on this factor stress the importance of social acceptance, self-confidence with oneself among social surroundings, and the strong influence of social group cohesion.

This factor signals that existing social pressure impose on a person's values, and thus a higher socio-economic status or prestige to impress their peer groups through the very act itself may be a way to relieve some of the social demands and influences. Chapter Two argued that people tend to showing off their social success, and thus, tend to impress their social background with their economic wealth and high quality resources. Peer pressure is most likely to be experienced by public luxuries in relation to acquire any social 'symbolic meaning of goods' from their peers (Elliott & Leonard, 2004, p. 348, 358). Elliott and Leonard (2004). They suggest that branded fashion items are acquired by poorer families, not just because their children want them but because they themselves desire to position their family in a higher social class. As Cox et al, (1990) argues those who are motivated by social pressure and social acceptance, acquiring a particular product and not have the economic resources, tend to steal it. However, this is not out of a need of the product but out of desire of luxury prestige owning. Even some 'fairly affluent consumers may covet more luxuries than they can afford to purchase' (Cox *et al.*, 1990, p. 157).

Benson and Archer, carried out an ethnographic study of male value and interpersonal conflict in the context of evening social event, and found that status acquisition, display and defence were very important to them whereby was primarily directed to other men and any notion of 'honour' appeared to concern a male audience. They also found that acquiring status is seen to be by others (males/ females) as a 'real man' and not be seen as of inferior value man (Benson & Archer, 2002, p. 23-24). Therefore, an evolutionary explanation may provide a fine link of such human value in presenting their social success for social inclusion. According to EP theory, social success only capture the forms that are generally approved by the society, and thus may be avenues of reproductive success (Rowe *et al.*, 1997). Walter (1997) found that females showed a preference for males whom they judged to have higher social status than theirs, while this criterion was unimportant for males. Daly and Wilson (1994) have argued that the higher rate of aggression in men is indicative of the crucial importance of status competition to male reproductive success.

Based on the items loading strongly on this factor, it is possible to argue that this social attachment structure links with various social goal-directed strategies (i.e. the inclination to steal for status competition) a person may operate to ultimate advantage one's reproduction success. Moreover, Henrich and Gil-White (2001) have agued that prestige is a way to human status and status-competition, which results from group living plus direct social learning capacities. They claim that prestige processes are an emergent product of psychological adaptations that evolved by evolutionary pressures (Henrich & Gil-White, 2001).

As can be seen in the Figure below, the construct of attitudes towards the potential causes of TFS is perceived as a structure of seven factors. On the left-hand side, the Figure labels all the seven principal factors or a structural framework that were found to have an impact on attitude formation. As a result, this study ultimately argues that each of the seven principle "causal" factors capture attitudes that reflect to domain-specific *social psychological mechanisms*, which have evolved to deal with the unique complexities of contemporary demands, and thus are selected for very specific goals and their attendant strategies. Yet, to understand the psychological mechanisms, on the right-hand side of the figure below, their ultimate functions or about why it evolved is articulated, that is, the specific adaptive problems they were designed by selection to solve.

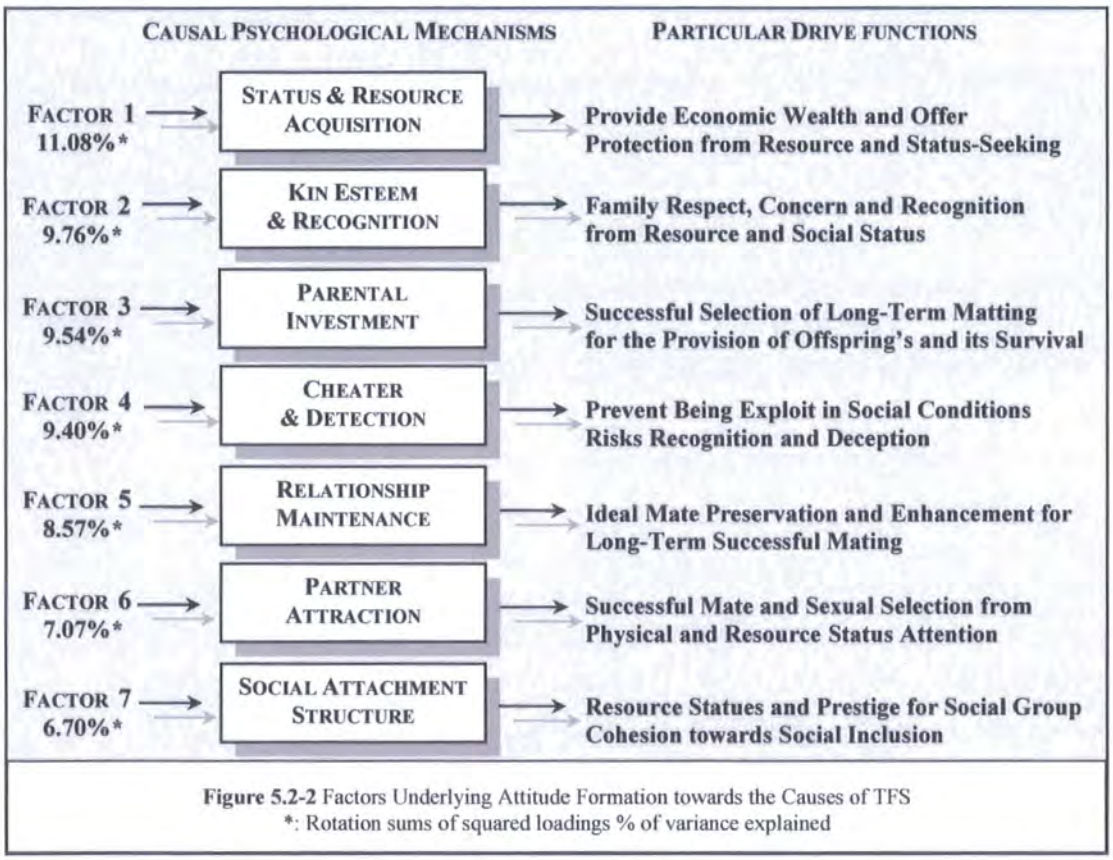

Figure 5.2-2 Factors Underlying Attitude Formation towards the Causes of TFS
*: Rotation sums of squared loadings % of variance explained

This study provides an explanatory insight into the ways in which lay attitudes towards the potential causes of TFS cluster into particular types of explanations, together with the fundamental theoretical logical behind these types of explanations. The resulting structural framework was related to evolutionary reasoning, and was labelled appropriately under an evolutionary psychology interpretation. The various goal-directed strategic efforts that arise from each of the seven specific psychological mechanisms that are universal and socially common across human population and owe their existence and form to evolution by natural selection.

5.3 Understanding the Phenomenological Social Problem: Implication of the Study

5.3.1 Theoretical Propositions: Message for Methodology

While, the phenomenon presents a complex, troubling, and growing social problem, the mainstream literature has extensively proposed potential causes of TFS in order to provide a comprehensive explanation. These explanations mainly emphasise understanding how a sought cause is operated and what it results in. On the other hand *why* such specific cause exits in the first place remains unexplained. Studies for instance avoid the key questions on the origin and its functions of their proposed cause(s) within such overwhelming social phenomenon. Additionally, very little data exists as to what do the general public themselves perceive these causes to be, and thus have specifically ignored the importance of lay perceptions and attitudes toward familiar causes that are shaped from those who are (in)directly affected and involved in the process.

Therefore, it is hoped that the present study has implications for theory and practice. The empirical findings provide some insight into the development of lay attitudes towards the causes of TFS. This study believes that by on understanding *why* various people are stimulated to steal through which explanations coming from those who are affected and involved through the very act itself influence, theory, as well as practitioners will have a powerful framework for understanding the likely outcome of their explanations. This section will first process to suggest its research and theoretical propositions and eventually translate its research suggestions into practice propositions. Therefore, the results of this study enhances the understanding of attitudes toward the specific business crime causation from the potential offender, victimised shoppers and stores, and the concerned law institutions, to the extent to which they concur with the academic account of TFS as a result of everyday experience in this phenomenon.

The dominant way of resulting attitudinal explanations has been in terms of causes. Although noted in Chapter Three that attributional literatures have generated much research in general, they are limited in helping one understanding the ultimate existence to causal psychological processes. This study proposes that research on attitudinal explanations of any social phenomenon documented would be advanced if researcher considered explanations of the origin and functions that attribute the causality. Additionally, specific TFS knowledge will be advanced if causal attributions are attributed by the parties who are affected in some way with the social phenomenon. The lay perspectives and reactions towards the projected causes of TFS formed a pragmatic theoretical interpretation on an underlying structure of given reasoning shaped by the various lay attitudes toward the existing cause. Methodological improvements are needed, since it is clear that researchers have to better understand causal attributions from an attitudinal style way.

However, by having conducted a wide-ranging review of disciplinary concerns with TFS issues, this study attempts to break the various disciplinary traditions and provide a resource for the growing interdisciplinary interest in TFS knowledge, or any other business crime related issues. The range and variety of work uncovered in this study's disciplinary overview, packaged together and provided a rich and varied set of insights into the causes of TFS, can also be drawn upon to tell us a great deal about particular (yet limited) TFS attitudes. Today, there are many approaches to reveal the causes, as there are theoretical approaches to understand such causal process. These theories will be determined, to a greater or lesser degree, by the discipline of the theorist concerned. For example, as seen in Chapter Two sociologists draw upon sociological causes to explain and understand TFS, economists upon economic causes, psychologists upon psychological causes, and so on. However there is some debate between these studies as to whether various methodologies and theories have achieves the status of independent disciplines.

Therefore, as Hollin (1989) suggested one of the challenges in order to explain any type of crime and advance particular theory is to attempt to understand the demands of knowledge across a wide range of disciplines, concerning the theme explored. Moreover, by acknowledging various proposals and requests for specific TFS research (i.e. Guffey *et al.* (1979) and Cox *et al.* (1993)), this study sought to address their requests by integrating TFS research on attributions, causal accounts and explanation. Specifically, this study searched across a wide spectrum for causal explanations, by revealing related studies from 1950. This study found that TFS studies have substantially decreased and continues to do so. This literature trend identified by this study's extensive review, suggests a reaction for further research within this area. The literature search however for this study was further delimited for the fifty years, the time period 1950–2006[16]. Results from the literature review of the search included surprisingly few articles – a total of just 283. However, by considering the number of articles in these fifty and more years, this would account for only a small percent of business related articles.

Despite the fact that TFS has received attention in recent years, the level of research is not consistent with the scale of the problem. For example, from 1989 to 1999 relevant literature produced 129 studies directly related to TFS, and only 47 studies to date have been published during the beginning of 1999. This may be due to, that ever since Cole called for further research in 1989 into why consumers act dishonestly and how programs may be designed to reduce the frequency of these acts (Cole, 1989). Perhaps in response to this call, during those years till 1998, various scholars have begun to explore in greater depth issues of consumers misdeeds. TFS is potentially harmful to the business environment and society overall, a decrease in academic interest has been sighted.

Figure 5.3-1 indicates this sharp decrease within TFS related literature. Even thought TFS generally has received much attention by various disciplines, this study argues that there is a notable decrease of interest in this topic in the turn of the century. Adding to this study argument, a paper has argued that despite the financial significance of customer theft to businesses and its expected impact on *all* consumers, relatively little attention has been paid to this type of misbehaviour, such as TFS (Mitchell & Ka Lun Chan, 2002). Additionally, the British Retail Consortium, Crime Concerns and private business members together with trade unions are increasingly concerned about the rising theft attacks and the decreasing awareness of relevant research for the social problem (Davies & Willans, 2003).

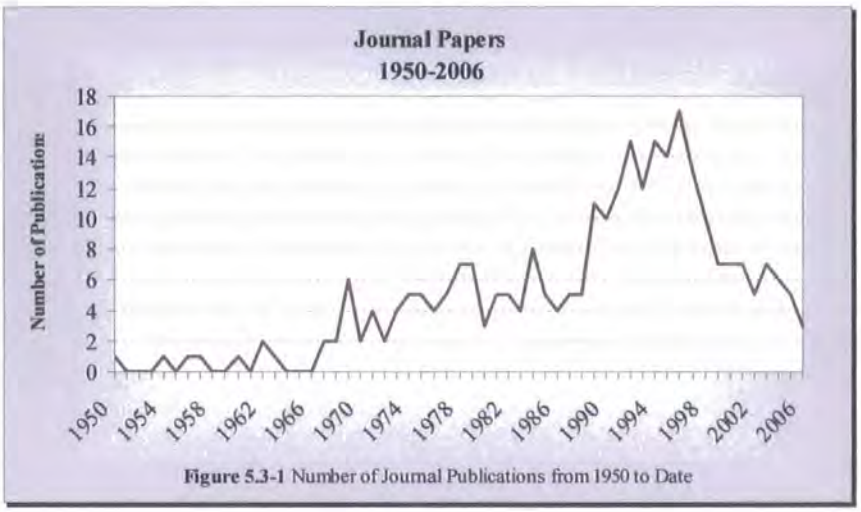

Figure 5.3-1 Number of Journal Publications from 1950 to Date

By the literature trend this study revealed, that TFS is not the most researched topic or most notorious crime, and yet writers and researchers stress it is the most economically damaging crime for the business environment. All the above concerns lead this study to provide its main point of focus for it literature review in a thorough comprehensively referenced guide to the research linking economic, marketing, criminology, sociology, anthropology, cultural studies, psychology, medical, history and geography. The literature sought comes from a number of TFS theoretical approaches, as well as, with various home office informational sources including business and public institutions. Therefore, this study provides guidance and extensive references, which are referred to in Chapter Two, and in Appendix A.1 for new scholars to relate to various studies and findings. The review of the literature will assist the reader to become acquainted with the basic terminology and methodological framework used in this study in order to better understand this research to further research reply or debate it.

Despite evidence of homogeneity and diversity among studies in what tempts humans to steal form corporate organisations, a number of significant contributions in various disciplines do provide some insight into conceptualising explanations in terms of typologies. Although they have generated much research (refer also to Appendix J.1 for a brief review from traditional studies that built to conceptualise such crime, and for a more extensive review refer to Section 2.2, Chapter Two) for an all-encompassing classification of the offenders, they are limited in helping one understand the actual causal processes involved inside an individual. The importance for a broad meaning may function as building blocks toward a more comprehensive definition for TFS and its causes in the future. Since, it was expressed by an involved representative,

> '...what is theft from stores?...what is their functions?...[there is] no common accepted description, [thus] cause confusions and misunderstandings among private and public institution...'
>
> **Constable Andrew Bays, Crime Partnership Manager – New Scotland Yard, Metropolitan Police**

While various studies propose their comprehensive typology, it would either be too simplistic so that they could confidently fit different type individuals into the various categories. Research notes that a large number of people from different backgrounds are involved in TFS, and the problem may stem from the paradox involved in the very ordinariness and commonness of the offence. Thus, as a starting point this study sought to address a straightforward description of the act it self, in order to begin the investigation. This research initiative was that TFS is the unauthorised taking of property (idea or items), across the commercial border. Moreover, stores (or corporate victim) are physically and virtually bounded "containers" for property, where property can move legally across the borders according to formal permissions (license to use, cash purchase etc). Nevertheless, the predator is an individual (assess as a 'taker' from this study) who moves the goods across the legally defined borders without the permission of the owners.

Although this descriptive explanation may prompt further research clarification, future research must be addressed to explore alternative empirical explanations, such as the common nature of the act. Thus, why do shoppers become 'lawbreakers?' Do 'law obedient' shoppers have distinctive characteristics? This study proposes that research on explanations regarding the probability of a person to steal from a store would be advanced if researchers considered explanation typologies as content and merged this research with research explanations as evolutionary process. Advancement of causal evolutionary process theories within this area of research could illuminate *why* various causal explanations, are naturally valued by all of us.

By continuing the call for research into lay perceptions and reactions toward the potential causes that may affect the probability of TFS, this study provides methodological cues towards the direction of extending research on *attributions style techniques*. Future studies can follow Chapter Three as a methodological foundation which will introduce how people activated beliefs, knowledge and experiences, to form their perception underlying attitudes. While this research has been concerned with understanding how these perceptions are formed, the methodological approach of this study results to suggest that lay causal explanations may be formed via an attributional process. We have seen that the construct of attitudes towards the potential causes of TFS is perceived as a structure of seven factors. All of the seven principle factors or the structural framework proposed by this study's attitudinal data was found to have an impact on attitude formation. Therefore, the theoretical interpretations of this study's results (attributional explanation) that advocated the method of reasoning (involving abduction processes) explaining an unforeseen pattern, provide additional support to this study's conclusion.

By drawing on evolutionary psychological reasoning this study describes a structure that links evolved mechanisms to contemporary prejudices against individuals with theft tendencies. It provides an explanatory insight into the ways in which lay attitudes towards the potential causes of TFS cluster into particular types of explanations, together with the fundamental theoretical logical behind these types of explanations. However, for this study's investigation no previous evolutionary theory was "predicted" in advance for the phenomenon. This study ultimately argues that each of the seven principle "causal" factors capture attitudes that reflect to domain-specific *social psychological mechanisms*, which have evolved to deal with the unique complexities of contemporary demands, and thus are selected for very specific goals and their attendant strategies.

This study claims that by referring again to the various causal response of traditional academic TFS explanation reviewed in Chapter Two, it was perceived that they tend not to include, nether mention an ultimate causal explanations for their end theories. And as in light of the above evidence, evolutionary theory can be accepted by various scientists across disciplines to include the examination of a possible explanation of the ultimate cause for the propensity of victimful offences. EP tries to emphasise the levels of causation from the ultimate rather than proximate explanations for any social phenomenon. For such propositions it is one important difference between EP and all other approaches in the social sciences (Workman, 2004). Therefore, for the case of TFS and its causal explanation, the emphasis of this study's argument will lay on explaining why particular reactions are manifested in the current society, rather than emphasising what the reactions manifested in it are.

While TFS is believed to be a universal problem that poses a major challenge, various disciplines have offered a number of causal explanations which, they believe, might be offerings ways to combat or deter such social problem. Many of these explanations, however generally enlighten us with information of who the potential offender might be, under what conditions and circumstances an individual may commit such crime. Usually, these phenomenon oriented approaches, identifying sometimes interesting and frequently counterintuitive patters in thought or behaviour but explaining them solely by reference to proximate causes. This study suggests that TFS knowledge has little known as to *why* these potential motivations (internal and/or external) have an effect; what really "causes" ordinary individuals to steal as well as how they shape thoughts and attitudes, and thus where this study makes its major contribution.

Throughout Section 5.2 this study showed that evolutionary theories of criminality (the propensity to commit victimful offences) have merged during the past two decades in forms that neo-Darwinian theorists today would recognise. These theories show promise in offering new explanations for establishing observations as well as for generating new hypotheses. These studies explore the origins and functions of criminality and/or law-breaking as an evolved adaptive strategy to solve specific problems designed in human ancestral environments, and own their existence to evolution by natural selection. Therefore, this study's suggests that the empirical implications this study resulted in may be clearly just the start of studying the prospects of psychological mechanisms as the cause which compels various individuals to commit TFS crimes. Besides providing a possible explanation for *why* a specific cause might compel individuals to accumulate resources by stealing from others, this study's evolutionary psychological framework of TFS has other empirical implication too. The EP causal framework would be able to explain various sought causes that were reveal by earlier literature. That is, that young people mainly commit TFS offences, the relationship of sex differences the relationship of social class (factors) and the commission of TFS crimes, the connection of unemployment and the prospect of committing TFS offences, and so on.

The outcome (the seven principle factors or structural framework identified), as well as evolutionary scholars (e.g. Buss's, Campbell's, Kanazawa and Still's supportive studies), support the provision of interesting questions for further research within the area of business related crimes. Does male (or female) propensity to commit TFS vary in intensity across cultures according to the magnitude of resource and status acquisition? Does male (or female) propensity to commit TFS vary in intensity across cultures according to the magnitude of parental investment? Does male (or female) propensity to commit TFS decrease as the reproductive value of his mate increases? Does same sex competition increases tendency to commit TFS?

Does female propensity to commit TFS vary in intensity across cultures according to the magnitude of their mechanism of cheater detection? Does female (or male) propensity to commit TFS increases as a function of relationship enhancement? Is the partner who is relatively lower in mate attraction value more the propensity to commit TFS that the partner who is higher in mate attraction value? All these questions can be guided by EP thinking, and answers to them should provide an even greater understanding of workings of the complex mechanisms, its species-typical features, its sex-differentiated features, and its individually different features. Additionally, the intention of this study was to explore multiple motives for engaging in TFS to provide as comprehensive a picture as possible however a product-specific pattern emerged (e.g. cosmetics for mate attraction). Therefore, the analysis by the type of goods stolen could be further researched, since it seems that the type of goods women steal is not exactly the same as men's.

5.3.2 Practical Propositions: Message for Management

'Public policy attitudes are closely connected to attributions concerning the nature and causes of particular social problem.'(Wood & Bartkowski, 2004, p. 58)

'...route is to consider the implications of evolutionary psychology as you consider managerial problems.' (Nicholson, 1998, p. 147)

This study anticipates that the results will advance academic knowledge within the core of resource theft theory and consumer behaviour literature. By including an additional way of understanding the causal psychological process through which compels contemporary humans to gain material resources when they do not have the legitimate means to do so, practitioners will have a framework for understanding the likely consequences of their causal explanation. This research identifies implications for organisational management, particularly a focus for retail controllers along with marketing decision makers, as well as to government policy makers. Building on various theories, the main conclusion identified from this study suggests an anticipation to provide an additional layer of explanation for an opportunity to extend current management of anti-TFS strategies within organisational frameworks and for informing policy development. This study tempts future research to combine its empirical findings into practice, to progress and provide alternative means for existing management practices by presenting its explanatory framework behind it. This study argued in earlier chapters that previous business literature tends to neglect such social phenomenon as a theme in managing the problem within commercial establishments, the limited business theft related manuscript largely ignores the integration of theoretical knowledge. The failure to assimilate new research awareness on the problem is supported and call for possible solutions for successful strategies within management (Cox *et al.*, 1993; Dotson & Patton, 1992; Mitchell & Ka Lun Chan, 2002; Tonglet, 2001).

While there is a growing and increasing interest in the current role of organisational management (seen in Chapter One), it led this study's concentration on providing an additional layer of explanation to help organisations to adopt pro-active rather than reactive measures to control the problem. Implementing effective control strategies has been widely acknowledged both within academic and practitioner domains. More research needs to be replicated, expanded and supported to provide a comprehensive understanding of how anti-theft strategies are to be developed, as well as the rapidly evolving and interconnected digital technologies present significant challenges. Seeing that,

> '...we win the occasional battle, but the war goes on... [and, 'we'] still wonder why?...'
>
> John Whatling, Crime Reduction Partnership Manager – Oxford Street Association

Moreover, as Leaver's (1993) study concluded that most of the current counter-measures will deflect rather than deter the problem, existing anti-theft procedures sometimes affect the shopping experience for all of us, especially if applied thoughtlessly. As claimed, many established methods to fight TFS tend to increase the environmental hostility within the store itself (Cox *et al.*, 1993; Geurts & Johnston, 1973). Similar to other studies (Guffey *et al.*, 1979; Taylor, 2004), they suggest that overt action from preventive and detection devices are not found to be effective and may be counterproductive for the businesses, which then add to the overall costs of doing businesses. This study suggests the challenge of another area of research within similar grounds for future researchers to explore. The fact that these advances in technological "fighters" are costly (often costing more than the goods they recover), are often inconvenient, and invade the privacy of a store's legitimate shopper. Yet businesses persist in implementing them.

As noted in Chapter One, the European Retail Theft Barometer, researched by the Centre for Retail Research in Nottingham, notes that 'Retailers perceived customer thieves to be responsible for 49% (up 1% compared to last year) of shrinkage, employees for 30% and suppliers for 7%. Internal error, process failures and pricing mistakes were thought to cause 14% of shrinkage, leaving 86% of shrinkage as crime-related' (Bamfield, 2005). The level of 49% is drawn on results responses from European retailer companies from 25 countries, which measures retailers' assumption rather than actual crime figures. Similarly, the British Retail Consortium reports that the greatest losses in retailing as again represent perceived responses from retailers were attributed to their customers (i.e. for 50.8 % of total store losses). That is, the survey interviewed independent UK retail companies, in order to provide their thoughts what was responsible for retail crime (BRC, 2005).

From the research literature covered in this Chapter One, this study reveals that mainly all survey's reporting statistics on losses (review in Figure 1.1-1) are conducted by retailers, that is asking 'them' to break down what they 'perceive' to be the main cause of their losses. While the methodology of measuring these perceptions is controversial (a discussion in Chapter One, sub-section 1.1.3.1), this could be acknowledged that the findings of any shrinkage increases in retail rates may be influenced by more surveillance and security (a recent discussion by Blakemore, 2005, of various issues from surveillance in the workplace). Therefore, the reliability and validity of these statistics reported in numerous official publications, and thus supported by research studies to consider, *must* be re-evaluated (i.e. search where the sought figures actually came from) and reconsider new means to measure actual business related crime facts. It would be interested to see whether new high-tech business crime tools are first formed and then a new increasing concern for retail crime is prompt towards the direction to spark interest for business to fight their problem with the new or improved technologies. As Carrico argues,

> '...technological progress without progress toward a more just distribution of the costs, risks, and benefits of that technological development will not be regarded as true 'progress' at all.'
>
> (Carrico, 2005)

While, businesses in response to all these threats for their survival, the retail industry has significantly increased its commitment and expenditure on loss prevention measures over recent years (refer to Appendix K.1 to perceive the increasing cost pressures on businesses to increase store security measures and acquire advance theft protection equipment). Business related crimes are a significant concern and, thus technologies are needed to surveillance the behaviour of these potential unlawful customers (see Blakemore, 2005). Promoting information for concerned parties (either private or public) embraces a powerful account derived into the 'need' for pervasive surveillance strategies. As Blakemore states in his influential review of the global information society within the labour force,

> 'The simpler the message the better, especially if it is a myth that is somehow grounded in research.'
>
> (Blakemore, 2005, p. 7)

This study suggests that there is, to a degree, bias in information (or so called 'myths') in the way businesses search for and use, that is being driven by new technology systems that businesses need to make effective strategic protection decisions. While there are debates to be developed regarding the accuracy of surveillance technologies, over the quantifiable cost benefits and dis-benefits that are documented (in Blakemore, 2005, work), the notion that there is bias in information search and use has not been examined. This research concern can provide an interesting question for future research.

More importantly, this study's results also support these various assumptions on promoting global information and forming beliefs toward the problem in order to accept and create an explanation for the 'need' to implement pervasive surveillance strategies. Findings suggest that the less educated group seems to have an unclean or vague perception and attitude on those who commit an offence. Thus, at this point this study argues that the new technology are usually crated by these educational groups (i.e. strongly accepting the projected cause), and thus supported by intellectuals explanations that perform as the 'causal makers' in order to pass the message (information and communication) down to the concerned stakeholder for a crucial *need* of a more extensive surveillance to practice where there was reasonable cause to suspect someone of malpractice. This study proposes the encouragement of projects to generate systematic information on business crime rates in order to be more statistically reliable that is corresponding with the real extent of retail crime. As claimed by this study it would be interesting regard if *various anti-theft strategies are (or not) inspired by the actual business related crime.* The answer would simplify various claims driven from the studies mentioned above, as well as to support crucially this study's suggestions.

Moreover, this study's results also supports that if business practitioners are familiar with why individuals are motivated and conversely discouraged toward the propensity to commit theft, the more cost-effective loss control efforts organisations will become. While this has been suggested previously (McGoldrick & Andre, 1997) a clear understanding of consumer needs and motives are a prerequisite of successful strategy formulation. Therefore, this study attempts to provide the information businesses actually need to prompt future effective anti-theft strategies for loss control. The present research suggests that various management strategies may in fact target certain segments of society. For example, men were understood to be less vigilant towards detection.

Adding to this, this study also inputs into TFS knowledge since previously projected that strategies can make little progress *until* more is known about the causes of TFS, and why individuals might want to commit TFS (Anon, 1996; Beck & Willis, 1998; Cox *et al.*, 1993; Gill, 2000; Tonglet, 2001), not whether they actually do so. Another conclusion from this study is that while theories have been suggesting the relationship between public (lay) perceptions of the causes of criminality and *policy* decisions regarding crime control approaches (Cullen *et al.*, 1985; Flanagan, 1987; Wood & Bartkowski, 2004), concerned TFS organisations have largely ignored such significance of assessing lay attitudes regarding what they thought the cause of TFS to be, to reveal appropriate methods of copping with this problem.

Overall, the exploratory framework that explains the lay reactions of key stakeholders beliefs, perceptions, and experiences toward the causes projected to them, hopes to ultimately capture a grounded understanding of attitudes toward the causes of TFS. The construct of these "mind-sets" is perceived as a structure of seven factors that were found to have an impact on attitude formation. This study proposes and provides an explanatory insight into the ways in which lay attitudes towards the potential causes of TFS cluster into particular types of explanations, together with the fundamental theoretical logical behind these types of explanations. The resulting structural framework was related to evolutionary reasoning, and was labelled and supported by earlier studies appropriately under an EP interpretation, which are, universal and socially common across human population, similar to the common manifests of TFS seen worldwide. Further, this study urges researchers to use the resulting EP framework to related studies to help show organisations the potential benefits of providing an insight into lay attitudes toward the problem. Such as, an EP framework may inspire anti-theft strategies where precondition are met for the individual. *This deterrent may cost less than any other mentioned.*

Thus, given the paradigmatic influence that EP seeks to bring about, it is imperative for private or public organisations trying to find effective solutions of any contemporary social phenomenon, to be unaware of its propositions and prospective applicability. Appendix J.2 addresses these very issues so as to apprise organizational management scholars of the theoretical concepts underlying EP and suggest some of its potential applications in the field of business and strategy management. Given the broad and all-encompassing theoretical propositions of EP, it is reasonable to expect that other disciplines investigating human attitudes and values in our social environment that would have included the idea of human nature for their conclusions. More vitally, this study proposes its empirically exploratory framework in the field of management and thus prospects for its viability and efficiently for strategies to cope with business related crimes.

In sum, despite this study's exploratory nature, several significant messages emerged for methodology and management to consider as a result of this study. Researchers and managers *believe* that TFS is an important issue for business viability and vitality, personal well-being, economic growth, as well as, the overall deterioration of society. Awareness of *why* individuals under some circumstances and conditions (perceived in Table 4.2-1) believe and desire to steal goods is generally thought to be low. By exploring the attitudinal survey, this study argues that individuals want to commit the offence under those causes because something else compels them to do so. This study argues that that something depends on underlying psychological mechanisms that prompt people to seek reproductive success, with each person arising different strategic efforts depending on those circumstances and conditions sought by academics.

5.4 The "World" of Stolen Goods: Discussions and Conclusions

5.4.1 Limitations and Relevance of the Exploratory Study

This study has produced results, identified significant issues, and highlighted various potential areas for future research perspective. Future studies will need to be conducted to build on this study's findings. The suggestion mentioned above must be considered also in light of several limitations as well as the relevance this study held within theory. Therefore, the exploratory nature of this study means that there are a number of limitations, as discussed in Chapter Four some have been anticipated and thus appropriate procedures were taken. Limitations of the exploratory style process where acknowledged and referred during Chapter Four (Methodological Standpoints) to acquaint the adopted research design of this study's strategy. Moreover, within the methodological chapter it seemed appropriate to discuss the limitations of the empirical analysis as strengths and weaknesses where inevitably considered to point out. This helps to explain the strategic techniques used step-by-step in order to facilitate and justify the collection of this study's attitudinal data.

Having defined methodologically, this study follows an abductive approach, for an exploratory research. The strategy for choosing abductive reasoning as the theoretical basis of this thesis, as stated in Chapter Four, was first that most social research use both deductive and inductive reasoning, at the same time. Second, researchers acknowledges this approach as the systematized creativity or intuition in research to develop "new" knowledge (Andreewsky and Bourcier, 2000; Taylor *et al.*, 2002). Creativity is necessary to break out of the limitations of deduction and induction, which both are delimited to establish relations between already known constructs. Nonetheless, a rise in using new approaches signals the limitations of the kind of answers deductive research can provide (Kovács & Spens, 2005). Third, while the research style this study carried out to understand the social phenomenon, was found to be a limited (if none) studied area. No generally accepted theory or framework is available in related TFS literature.

Because of the objectives of the study, exploratory research strategy seems the most suitable style to observe the effects of differences in attitudes toward the potential causes of TFS proposed by research. However, by following a causal research style as opposed to exploratory may have positioned different relationships. Even as significant results were found in this study, future research in this area could improve upon the methods currently used. For example, the result of this study's data that observed differences has some limitations. The most salient is that although a statistically significant difference in survey scores has been determined between the three different populations identified, this is fairly small.

However, such a result could well be a consequence of the survey methodology and a stronger difference may result particularly if each of the stakeholders grouping could be better collected in a less intrusive manner. For example, although all of the questionnaires handed were the same, they varied somewhat in approaching the three sample groups as this study distinct them as "key stakeholders". The questionnaires reached the police headquarters through internal parcel for the departments by the consent of the senior officer to inviting officers to complete the questionnaire, thus this may have induced employees by superiors to "play it safe". This may also be comparable with the sample driven from retail managers, whereas approached in person but also have the sample had the same strategy to safely regard and release information dealing with the problem. As show in Chapter Four, steps were taken to minimize these. Notwithstanding, the limited size of the law enforcement sample must be further considered that a stronger difference between the constructs may be possible with a larger sample. Moreover, by having more time to wait in shopping areas to deliver and collects surveys for the shopper\consumer targeted group would have been useful for more responses than those which were returned.

As discussed earlier as well as in Chapters One and Two, there are hints of difficulties in the existing business related criminal statistics as well as within relevant TFS literature. Usually, relevant theft studies employ secondary data to form hypotheses. Given the limitations of secondary data, it is often necessary to collect primary data in order to obtain the information needed to address the management decision problem. While experience surveys were employed to gather this study's primary data to explore the research problem, secondary data was drawn on from both official statistics and empirical data in order to picture the problem. The use of secondary data when exploring specific retail problems could raise concerns about its consistency and dependability. As seen earlier, there are clear reasons for this large disparity. The most important limitation of *recorded crimes* such as this study's researched problem is that it can only consider those crimes that are brought to the attention to the police or what retailers perceive.

This study was primarily based on quantitative data. Although self administered surveys have been recognised as being inexpensive, flexible, effective and stimulating to respondents there is an inherent risk in attempting to generalize the results to the whole population. Most studies on TFS have used existing survey scales with few modifications which raises questions concerning the universal applicability in different cultures. Even if this study has formed its own attitudinal scale measuring TFS it is no different and well suffers the same limitation of being ethnocentrically focused on the UK population. This study is acknowledged that this is purely a local study, and that the results cannot easily be generalized to the UK as a whole, or to other countries.

Future research should attempt to obtain a more generally representative sample to maximize sampling reliability and external validity, as well as to minimize *group* threats to internal validity. Additionally, this study's attitudinal scale could be repeated in different cultures concerned with the social problem in order to re-evaluate results. Clearly there are needs to establish validity of these scales in other countries, especially, when this victimful offence surveyed occur in every society and similarities are suggested. Yet, generalization of findings to individuals must be done with care since attitudes to fraudulent behaviour are likely to vary by culture (Caruana *et al.*, 2001). Adding to this point, an additional drawback arose from the entire sample surveyed by this study. For example, the responses were predominantly females and, therefore, there could have been some level of gender bias in the responses. These limitations mean that the findings cannot also be conclusively used to generalize individual's attitudes toward the potential causes of TFS. Notwithstanding these limitations, this study should form a valuable starting point for an in-depth and more broad-based study. Further research should replicate and extend these findings to establish the generalizability of this study's results. However, most importantly the culture similarity of motivations around the world from the previous theft related literature sought within the survey can strengthen the evidence for the evolutionary argument of this study.

Moreover, extra time to carry out more in depth interviews with key stakeholders would also have been more helpful, perhaps allowing extra time to carry out more in depth interviews with respondents would also have been helpful to be employed giving a greater insight for inference about respondents attitudes toward the causes of TFS of others may. Therefore, some potentially interesting spontaneous or tangential responses may be missed or excluded. For this reason, quantitative research is not always the best choice for exploratory research. Additionally, as seen in Chapter Three, previous research has shown that attitudes are related to the intentions of behaviour, especially when lay people explain others may also predict their behaviour, yet there is much debated literature because little theoretical understanding provides explanations why attitudes influence the reaction of a particular behaviour. This study showed that prior experience of information of this type of offence hold a strong attitude towards the causes of TFS. Therefore, it would be interesting to see whether those attitudes will influence actual behaviour. This study's proposition of the factors underlying attitude formation toward the causes of TFS, suggests a framework that explains only the relationship between lay perceptions and attitude and it does not cover intentions or behaviour. By developing an explanatory framework involving a specific theory of the mind to explain attitudes toward the causes of TFS, it may entitle the use from more longitudinal investigation to see if those inferences of others may predict behaviour too. This study has examined UK aberrant consumer behaviour and developed a new exploratory index of consumer aberrant behaviours which can be used as a benchmark for future investigations.

5.4.1.1 Culture and Evolution

The retail site is an ever changing feature of society today with its' own evolved nature and culture variability, as are the potential theft offender (Bark, 2002). At the same time this study isolated relevant causal explanatory features (matrix form, Chapter Four) of the precursors dispositional characteristics, and their situational environment, and situated them in the "world" of contemporary stores as to why they might want to take a "good" without paying for it. Literature on globalisation impacts on the goods we buy in stores are in search (Ratneshwar *et al.*, 2000), yet they suggest that shopping drives may be a function of the developing cultural, economic or social environments (Jin & Kim, 2003, p. 397). Ever since Tauber's (1972) seminal work on "why do people shop", numerous studies have been carried out to identify shopper's underlying stimulus and its relationship to culture variability (Babin *et al.*, 1994; Dawson *et al.*, 1990; Westbrook & Black, 1985).

People may want to steal for many different explanations, the same way that they can ride a bicycle for countless causes. How much further is our knowledge of this likely to be advanced by attempting to produce a complete list of all the causal explanations why members of an advanced, consumption-focused, and complex society, a world with plentifully rationalized *goods*, might from time to time steal some of them from other members? This study argued that research should turn to other avenues for insights, even if the list of causes could be comprehensively produced, it would be shortcoming to come to any conclusion, without, including what *those members of an advanced society* perceive to be the cause(s) and if their attributes are compatible with those countless academic known causes.

Motivating dispositions for TFS were argued by this study to be complex of specialised psychological mechanisms that can be postulated to explain both the temptations of our consumption oriented culture, and evolved distinct directive aspects of the propensity to commit the crime. Previous research on consumption motives suggests that consumers shop for a variety of causes, however the existing causal process involved is a foundation of their internal state of needs, and may be shaped by the culture in which they live (Jin & Kim, 2003; Westbrook & Black, 1985). Yet, as with any act of behaviour the scope of TFS can be compared with varying degrees of both internal and external stimuli (Bosquet, 1969). Accordingly, 'culture is also shaped by the details of our evolved psychological organisation' (Tooby & Cosmides, 1992, p. 91). Tooby and Cosmides referred to various cultural phenomena as "adopted culture". But phenomena described by adopted culture, like all other human behavioural phenomena, require an account of what psychological mechanisms underlie them and why such mechanisms have evolved to achieve (Buss, 1995).

Today, culture changes play an important role in our consumption environment, and as Klein (2000) has firmly fixed people's attention on brand name goods in stores, which affects the consumption culture's essential nature. Perhaps, people are unable to cope with the demands of modernity and the idea of 'possession' and 'uncontrollable' desire of goods reveals a dark side to the temptations of our consumption oriented culture. According a cultural historian says 'consumer culture manipulates the sense of the shoppers, seduces them, weakening their ability to resist temptation' (cited in Adler, 2002, p.52). Such issues tend to produce such behaviour include temptation, ability to rationalize and perceive risk to act (Cox *et al.*, 1990; Cressey, 1950). Criminological studies claim that the offence occurs as an impulse and were *not* a part of their conscious thinking (Farrington *et al.*, 1994; Nelson & Perrone, 2000).

While this study argues that people may want to steal for many different causal explanations, the attraction of such criminality needs further expansion as an *evolved culture* in the manner in which callous differences are explained. This study's findings stress the logical meaning of evolutionary thinking in revealing and identifying important variation, as well as uniformity across the numerous causes participants rated. It realised that within causal explanations there is a positive and active foundation of value and values in the process of committing thievery for some people. This means it was believed that the act it self holds with it different meanings for the precursor and specialised procedures for dealing with different adaptive domains. For the fashion conscious it makes them feel good and accepted by its peers to have the nice clothes, for the needy it is simply an economic survival strategy. A lot of debate around this victimful offence revolves around whether people are just greedy, or are they genuinely needy. Campbell says

> '...there is no statistical evidence to suggest that shoplifting is a particularly middle-class activity. And there can be no justification for the assumption that economics is an irrelevant factor. The evidence strongly suggests that lack of money plays a part (see Arboleda-Florez *et al.*, 1977). On the other hand, it would be romantic and inaccurate to paint a Dickensian picture of shoeless orphans stealing loaves of bread. Sixty-six per cent of girls in 1959, for example, stole clothes or cosmetics – luxury items... The issue seems to be not genuine need but greed at all social class levels'
>
> (Campbell, 1981, p. 103)

However, this does seem to be a rather dated approach. Some or most women nowadays would regard cosmetics as a necessity, and thus it is the fundamental element of consumption experience within the ideology of modern consumption that raises the discussion about need or greed in relation to the potential offender's motivation. For example, young females live up to 'supposed ideals', so to be as inclusive they must possess things. As seen in Chapter One, who can blame so many ordinary people for taking goods that are put in the open for them to want, feel, wear, taste, desire, and value as a fundamental element of modern consumption. However, this may also be sustained by same shopping marketing factors that maximise profits.

Also for the very poor in today's society to engage in any sort of branded lifestyle so avidly promoted in media-based agents people are forced to resort to illegitimate means or acquire their purchases through other informal methods if they are excluded (i.e. lack of funds, embarrassment, and other numerous proximate causes) from attaining them through legitimate means. Although Anne Campbell was speaking 25 years ago about clothes and cosmetics not being a case of genuine need, females may be driven by various goal-directed strategic efforts to develop a socially valued standard of beauty. Therefore, she would be arguing you only need food to live. Today the difference is about the perceived value of life afforded by high-quality food and/or luxury living. Supportive to this study's grounds, Campbell (1981) provides significant evidence that such female variability is as much a function of social conditions as evolutionary processes, and that females are motivated to carry out various strategies regarding the evolution of female's unawareness of the survival and sexual psychological mechanisms or the ultimate factions of goal pursuit. For example, "to get a boyfriend" (life task), "to attract a mate" (evolutionary life task) Rouke's (1957) TFS research suggests that stealing is a response to an unconscious psychological pattern called motivational aspects of an individual which provides a symbolic meaning and dynamic value to them, which also links with what Cupchik (2002) proposed in his work.

Consider these examples below by the non evolutionary followers too. As discussed in Chapter Two a large number of TFS studies identified social factors that cause social pressures and influences. Social pressures to project identity was perceived to the research community the most critical casual variable (Cameron, 1964; Campbell, 1981). Social pressures may play a more complex role in adolescent TFS offending (Johnson, 1979; Moore, 1983), and general viewed in young boys (Cox *et al.*, 1990), 'for status among peers' (Moore, 1983, p. 111). Similarly, the social pressure to conform to supposed ideals on young girls lead to dietary disorders, for example, anorexia nervosa and bulimia nervosa (Brener, 1993; Bridgeman & Slade, 1996; Crisp *et al.*, 1980; Fullerton *et al.*, 1995; Krahn *et al.*, 1991), this directs to the problem of social acceptance. For instance, a woman wants to appear and feel more attractive with the item taken in order to make an impression on a man because she is unhappy with her weight (Meyers, 1970; Phillips & Segal, 1969). Other research expiring different cultures has shown the high levels of economic pressure led to TFS. Campbell's (1981) study went so far as to announce that it was 'consumer fetishism' that led large numbers of young females into TFS. Arguably, given the widely noted increases in individualism (Sweeney, 1999) and consumerism (Bark, 2002), this can only have stimulated the level of TFS. We have seen in Chapter Two that unlike social theorists who view industrial capitalism as a resolute march toward modernity, others offer a far more sophisticated and complex interpretation on consumer culture and social control, contained by consumer capitalism (see Abelson, 1989*a;* Pinch, 1998).

In relation to the modern general demand for brand names, wealth and status-seeking, social recognition has an intensifying effect on the pre-existing consumer fetishism and leads to more TFS. This may be a mean as people participating in new forms of consumer culture (Bark, 2002; Campbell, 1981). For example, young males who are also increasingly fashion and status conscious (Cameron, 1964; Castiglia, 1999; Cox *et al.*, 1993; Gibbens & Prince, 1962; Guéguen, 2003; Robin, 1963; Schwartz & Wood, 1991) increase their social success by acquiring material resources. Material resources, however, tend to be concentrated in the hands of mature men. Young men are often excluded from attaining them through legitimate means and must therefore resort to illegitimate means (stated by Kanazawa & Still, 2000, work, p. 440). As Campbell noted when she considered that the young females

> '...have by no means escaped the sex-role trap. They may feel freer to break the law of the land but not necessarily the law of the female's position in a consumer society, where women themselves are still a commodity.' (Campbell, 1981, p. 94)

This debate is largely only the exterior of the problem, although it cannot be excluded in theory, it is not an explanation in itself and does not deal with the creation of society at all. In an ideal "world" would people feel the pressure to steal? Would there be stores in an ideal world? In today's capitalist and industrial society the fact that people do steal from stores despite societal laws, arrests, and some times physical self-harm should be enough to tell us that we need to explore this social phenomenon in what the organism is trying to do and what's the ultimately gain is. In other words, research should not avoid the key questions of origins and functions of the social phenomenon documented (Buss, 1995).

While, TFS has been blamed on many things, virtually all of these potential causes perceive to have one thing in common, "human needs and desires". Since human needs and desires are endless, virtually all of us would like to have fancy homes, social status in our society, the ability to eat what ever we want, perpetual health, desirable partners, unconditional love, and so on. Most of us will enjoy few of these things. Others may turn to thievery to deal with their lack of resources. Restraints to obtaining commodities sometimes break down, thus resulting in theft (see Campbell, 1995). Still, there is nothing wrong with wanting to be wealthy and possess more resources. We are material beings and we need material possessions to survive, succeed, prosper and be happy. However, greed can join forces with the propensity to commit the crime of TFS (Campbell, 1981; Cox *et al.*, 1990; Griffin, 1989), since it is the obsessive desire for material possessions. Bernstein (1985) forwards "need and greed" as one class of motivation which drives TFS. Moreover, Bernstein (2000) stresses that TFS is typically motivated by greed as opposed to need (cited in Reynolds & Lloyd, 2005). As, "greed" may cover all the demands of society and crudely to be summed up as competitive display.

Although, TFS causes explain what those human needs and desires might create the motive to compel individuals to commit such crime, those causes sees nothing however about *why* those needs and desires might be important to motivate an individual to begin with. Thus, Evolutionary Psychology (EP) explains causes in terms of evolved psychological mechanisms, and preferences, needs, and desires that produce in us. Presently in the relevant literature on TFS and the results from this study, there is a tendency to suppose that people steal goods as a result of psychological mechanisms that evolved to solve adaptive problems that males faced while hunting and females while gathering for food in the evolutionary past. Therefore, evolved psychological mechanisms may still motivate humans to steal because there were no laws in the EEA.

> By placing material gain before all other social principles and being selfish to the social effects and consequences of such pursuit of wealth on oneself, suggests that there is a favourable and advantageous foundation of symbolic values (the laws of nature) that compels humans to accumulate resources to perform specific motivational tasks (solving adaptive problems) by stealing from others.

While, Kraut claimed that the motivation for TFS 'is the same as for normal shopping' (Kraut, 1976, p. 365), it was thought to be of importance to acknowledge a model taken by an EP perceptive in contexts of shopping behaviour. Bristow and Mowen (1998) argue that shopping is all about getting the different types of resources we need to survive. Charles (2004) study suggests, that shopping style may be rooted in the lifestyles necessitated when our ancestors adapted to the African savannah. While, years ago, we went hunting for food, today we earn money to buy it. Therefore, the principle seems the same, in our current environment. Sex differences are also important in evolutionary theory and can be seen in consumer's behaviour. For example, men move quickly around the supermarket gathering food (hunting), whereas women move carefully around the store looking at sell-by dates and prices very carefully (conserving resources).

This mirrors ancient behaviours because men went out hunting and women were left back at camp to look after the resources the men found (see Bristow & Mowen, 1998*a;* Bristow & Mowen, 1998*b;* Charles, 2004, studies). Given the many connections to more explanatory models of the shopping cultural, psychological anthropologists' suggest that people use goods as a means of communicating with each other (Douglas & Isherwood, 1996). Douglas and Isherwood's study shows how the insights of anthropology can help to better understand the varied ways in which we use the "world" of goods to communicate to one and other.

While this study builds on previous world wide research on TFS and attempt to provide a richer understanding of this social phenomenon, it showed that this issue is both controversial and important. Popular explanations from different and parallel disciplines have each expressed their (academically "certified") views as to causes of TFS (often questionable). However, there were found to be a gaps in information on what the concerned society themselves perceive those potential ("know") causes to be. By revealing what lay respondents themselves perceive as the underlying causes behind why people want to commit thievery from stores, this study felt it would be useful to seek a simpler structure in order to explain its causal perception data. Thus it formed an explanatory framework that reflects lay attitudes of the ultimate causes underlying why people might desire to accumulate goods to own wealth and status seeking, to attract family esteem and recognition, to succeed in parental investment, skills for risk-taking, to maintain ideal long-term relationships, to attract a partner, and to qualify social cohesion by stealing from stores. These capacities reflect the workings of special-purpose psychological mechanisms that evolved in order to exploit the enormous adaptive potential of socially transmitted information.

Therefore, this study has found support through evolutionary reasoning about the past. Specifically, this study proposes that the diverse range of lay perceptions, attitudes, and experiences that we collectively refer to as causes of TFS is from a product of human evolution that motivates, facilitates, or shapes our way of thinking into seven underlying domain-specific psychological mechanisms that have developed to solve other (everyday) adaptive problems. This statement unlocks the central piece of the study and adds an *explanatory framework* to research. It promises not only to improve our understanding of those underlying causes of TFS, but to substantially impact research, analysis and management organisation. No previous evolutionary theory "predicted" in advance that those seven underlying psychological mechanisms exist, but the fact of its existence is a logical match for following theoretical interest among consumerists. The EP framework this study empirically produced has the potential to 'accommodate or replace current proliferation of disconnecting theories' (de Waal, 2002, p. 190).

5.4.2 Perceptions and Realities: Study Concludes

Time after time research has shown that the so called "shoplifters" and "shoppers" are one and the same (Sharrock, 2004). The theme of the *"world" of stolen goods* answers to potential questions that quit not makes sense across all contemporary societies. These disparate approaches on what causes people to steal from stores have been drawn together with a summary of the hypotheses for which the author has found support to propose a new way of wondering why a person might want to engage in TFS in our current environments. It profiles a different approach from traditional studies to understand why some people steal and others not.

The "world" of stolen goods bridges the gaps between conventional disciplines. Traditional disciplinary perspectives bring important explanations to bear on TFS, but as they do not always seem to satisfy, this study's outcome adds a piece to the unsolved jigsaw puzzle. There is nothing trivial about modern consumption in contemporary societies. While cultural capital can play a significant role in structuring social mobility, the drive to acquire goods, whether legitimately or illegitimately, has a direct and obvious correlation to a widespread TFS act. Thus far, over time, and throughout every society, TFS has flourished in our consumer-obsessed society, and while on the increase in recent years, it is receiving lesser attention in current research literature. There is no evidence to show that TFS is other than extremely widespread, and is not just restricted to the store from which "goods" are stolen or where criminal damage is caused, it affects the whole society. This commonly committed crime appears to be largely victim-precipitated, and the means of considering the publics reactions and attitudes towards such phenomenon was sought to be of importance. Studies have argued in the past that causal social response might pinpoint an alternative way of tackling any type of criminality and develop effective strategies, which in turn led on subsidiary interests for this study. Using attributions to understand the effects of causal explanations on respondent's reactions was this study's methodological standpoints.

This study ground its discussion on the structural reaction of the causal explanatory nature through the eyes of the victimised "key stakeholders" perceptions by linking attitude research and TFS research. Thus, the purpose of this study was to develop more insights into how lay attitude toward the potential causes in general concur with, or differ from intellectual account. Another important aspect of this study was to simplify its data and construct those reactions into specific domains that influence the formation of attitudes toward the causes. Attitudes were measured by an attributional style design which was concerned with an extensive item pool from the literature. The results indicate the following: (1) lay attitudes varied between different backgrounds, and (2) a structure pattern underlying the formation of those attitudes toward the cause of TFS.

The results captured belief values of seven specific goal-directed strategic domains, which had found support on evolutionary reasoning and understanding. This study argues that TFS serves an evolutionary purpose, since results suggest that there are very clear ancient behaviours still at work here in our current environment. While this drive to get good, whether legitimately or illegitimately, has a direct and obvious link to the propensity to commit TFS, the EP argument discussed this chapter can take it a step further. It makes sense in our consumer-obsessed cultures that so many of us steal. More than just a means of acquisition, TFS allows people to immediately experience of other symbolic values through the very act itself.

This study followed the beliefs ands desires created in us by our evolved psychological mechanisms to explain these numerous causes of why the propensity to steal form businesses. Through this Thesis, different theories have been identified that come up with all sorts of causal explanations, ranging from desperate people living in poverty through to groups of people just showing off to one another. This study argues, however, that there are very clear ancient behaviours still at work here. Consider, for example the universal phenomenon that a lot of young men steal today which it is often associated with the cause of trying to impress others with the risks they take. From an evolutionary point however, it could argue that young males are trying to show who is the toughest and most daring in order to impress females with their toughness and wealth. Therefore, this would ensure they get the best girl and improve the chances of passing on their genes. For women, on the other hand the reasons are slightly different. As seen in Chapter Two, strictly social studies note that young women, many single parents, tend to steal from stores and the argument is that it is just a matter of poverty driving them to it. However, the trouble is, even rich girls steal. An EP argument suggests that young women steal the latest clothes in order to look good on a night out (partner attracting) or even steal clothes and food for their children in order they grow up strong and survive to reproduce (parental investment).

Either way, the study's central argument is that TFS serves an evolutionary purpose whereas has shown to be a powerful force in shopping behaviour. For example, consider if people want to buy what lots of other people buy, and people want to buy what the top people buy, what happens when people do not have the means to buy. Where resources are scarce (e.g. low income), accruing "goods" illicitly form stores can help both males and females ensure they have the resources and status they need to successfully pass on their genes to the next generation. The results are expected to provide theoretical and practical contributions, since it has never been explored before in such an exploratory research style. This final chapter highlights the key findings of the research and spells out central implications for further research.

This study suggests that a systematic investigation of the evolved psychological mechanisms that underlie humans' significant ability and propensity to explain problematic social phenomenon. Therefore, this study presents an EP framework that captures attitudes explaining the potential "perceived" causes of why people consider stealing from stores, which depends on seven underlying psychological mechanisms. From a broader perspective there is a need to understand TFS as a fundamental aspect of modern society through human evolved nature. This study anticipate that its proposal goes some way toward drawing attention to absence of "why" human beings are motivated to steal from evolutionary accounts of crime and that future research will critically address the adequacy of this study's argument.

Footnotes

[1] The costs of retail crime are the value of property stolen from a business plus the costs of security.

[2] 'Shrinkage' can be defined as loss of stock caused by a combination of business crime (Bamfield, 2005). As it is difficult to measure conventional theft directly, retail businesses usually calculate a rate of losses called shrinkage, the difference between the retail sales value for goods delivered to stores and the actual amount realised on sale of these goods, expressed as a percentage of gross sales volume. Additionally, a proportion of businesses also measure shrinkage against cost price, and others use a combination of approaches (see Elder, 1989).

[3] The results are provided here as Euros (€). In October 2005, €1million were equivalent to £0.682 million sterling (refer to Bamfield, 2005).

[4] The 'comma' and the 'full stop' when used in numbering systems have opposite meanings in English usage and that of other European systems. In English, '1,000' is one thousand whilst in French the same number, 'mille', would be written as '1.000' or 1 000. Shrinkage rates of '1.42%' should be transcribed as '1,42%' in other languages (followed by Bamfield, 2005).

[5] As is now conventional in British business/economics usage, a "billion" is 1000 million (a milliard) with nine noughts (refer to Bamfield, 2005).

[6] For England and Wales

[7] The term "Thesis" represents the full textual study presented and towards the theoretical propositions contained.

[8] "Personal" or "Internal" are often used interchangeably or as substitutes for "Dispositional"

[9] "Situational" or "External" are often used interchangeably or as substitutes for "Environmental"

[10] The responses were measured by its set numeric values of strongly agree = 5, agree = 4, undecided = 3, disagree = 2, strongly disagree = 1.

[11] University of Durham ethics committee has been consulted by Dr. Mike Nicholson and Professor Night Chair of the ethics committee as advising were appropriate. Obtained approval from an Ethics Committee 2003 to be with the Chief Officer of "Crime Stoppers" in County Durham (considered from the standpoint of any type of threats to the researcher psychological and physical well-being). As well as in 2005 consulted by Dr. Mike Nicholson and Professor Michael Blakemore to interview three key stakeholder in the area of London. Interviewing the Crime Reduction Partnership Manager of Oxford Street Association, the Partnership Team Representative of New Scotland Yard Metropolitan Police, and the Business Crime Team of the Home Office Government's policy.

[12] The EP structure seeks to understand why a particular human universal has evolved, whereas the "environmental" paradigm views (e.g., mostly coming from sociologists) the world as consisting of socialization processes and learned behaviours, without explaining how these universal socialization processes came to exist. For a remarkable treatise on the difference between the two approaches, see Tooby and Cosmides (1992).

[13] A human living and reproducing in a specific local environment, forms function that constitute the phenotype which is the result of the individuals genetic composition (genotype) and the action of the environment on that organism during the course of its development (ontogeny).

[14] For example, the sales of the cosmetics market as presented by Saad and Gill (2000) estimate that the sales for women's cosmetics (48% of total sales) account for seven times more of the total sales than do men's cosmetics (7% of the total sales).

[15] Empirical evidence supports that humans engage in same-sex (intrasexual) competition to make themselves more attractive to the opposite sex than their competitors. Members of each sex engage in intrasexual competition to compete for access to desirable members of the opposite sex. In most primate species, including humans, male–male competition is more intensive than female–female competition. In male–male competition, males compete with one another for status, resources, reputation and social dominance (see Buss, 1994; see Buss, 1999).

[16] The search used the terms "shoplift", "shoplifting", "shoplifter", "consumer theft", "customer theft", "consumer misbehaviour", "in-store theft/crime", "store thieve", as well as for relevant "property theft or crime", in order to be inclusive and reach a wide range of articles discussing the research approaches. The search was not delimited to keywords or to "citation and abstract", but was widened to searching for the terms in the text of the articles.

List of Websites

1. Centre of Retail Research: Nottingham, UK: *http://www.retailresearch.org/crime_and_fraud/index.php*
2. City Watch Against Retail Crime: *http://www.citywatch-leicester.org.uk/*
3. Evolutionary Psychology for the Common Person: *http://www.evoyage.com/*
4. Evolutionary Psychology: *http://salmon.psy.plym.ac.uk/year3/PSY339EvolutionaryPsychology/EvolutionaryPsychology.htm*
5. Home Office Crime Reduction Toolkits - Business and Retail Crime: *http://www.crimereduction.gov.uk/toolkits/br00.htm*
6. North East Retail Crime Partnership: *http://www.nercp.org.uk/*
7. Retailer News Online: *http://www.retailernews.com/*
8. Shoplifters Alternative: *http://www.shopliftersalternative.org/*
9. The British Retail Consortium: *http://www.brc.org.uk/*
10. UK Home Office: *http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/*
11. UK National Statistics Online: *http://www.statistics.gov.uk/*
12. Warwickshire Retail Crime Initiative: *http://www.wrciuk.com/*

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Appendix A:
A.1 – Variables & Item Sources (139)

1. A person takes an item because they **cannot afford it** * (Arboleda-Florez *et al.*, 1977; Cox *et al.*, 1990; Klemke, 1992; Kraut, 1976; Lamontagne *et al.*, 2000; Ray, 1987; Ray & Briar, 1988; Sweeney, 1999)
2. A person takes an item because they **need it to survive** * (Arboleda-Florez et al., 1977; Cupchik, 2002; Kallis & Vanier Dinoo, 1985)
3. A person takes an item because they are **seeking attention** (Campbell, 1981; Castiglia, 1999; Cox *et al.*, 1993; Cox et al., 1990; Elquist, 2000; Hansen & Breivik, 2001; Meyers, 1970; Moschis *et al.*, 1987; Phillips & Segal, 1969; Russell, 1973; Schwartz & Wood, 1991)
4. A person takes an item because they **physically ill** * (Cupchik, 2002; Cupchik & Atcheson, 1983; Kallis & Vanier Dinoo, 1985; Phillips & Segal, 1969; Yates, 1986)
5. A person takes an item because they are **mentally ill** * (Arboleda-Florez et al., 1977; Cameron, 1964; Castiglia, 1999; Epps, 1962; Freedman et al., 1996; Gauthier & Pellerin, 1982; Gibbens, 1962, 1981; Gibbens et al., 1971; Heath & Kosky, 1992; Krahn et al., 1991; Lamontagne et al., 2000; Lamontagne et al., 1994; Mitchell et al., 1992; Moore, 1984; Neustatter, 1953; Sarasalo & Bergman, 1997*b*; Sarasalo et al., 1997*a*; Weisz et al., 2002)
6. A person takes an item **after a bereavement** * (Arboleda-Florez et al., 1977; Cupchik, 2002; Cupchik & Atcheson, 1983; Fugere et al., 1995; Gillen, 1989; Lamontagne et al., 2000; Mazerolle & Piquero, 1998)
7. A person takes an item because they are **on medication** * (Benezech, 2000; Cupchik, 2002; Williams & Dalby, 1986)
8. A person takes an item because they are **depressed** * (Bradford & Balmaceda, 1983; Edwards & Roundtree, 1982; Fishbain, 1987, 1994; Freedman et al., 1996; Gudjonsson, 1987, 1988, 1990; Heath & Kosky, 1992; Lamontagne et al., 2000; Moore, 1984; Ordway, 1962; Ray *et al.*, 1983; Russell, 1973; Sarasalo et al., 1997*a*)
9. A person takes an item because **everyone takes something** at some time during his or her lifetime * (Klemke, 1982; Klemke, 1992; Krasnovsky & Lane, 1998; Kraut, 1976; Sohier, 1969)
10. A woman takes an item because she is a woman and **mainly women** do this * (Abelson, 1989*b*; Arboleda-Florez et al., 1977; Brady & Mitchell, 1971; Cameron, 1964; Epps, 1962; Klemke, 1992; Krasnovsky & Lane, 1998; Robin, 1963; Won & Yamamoto, 1968)
11. A man takes an item because he is a man and **mainly men** do this * (Cox et al., 1990; Farrington, 1999; James Carolin Jr, 1992; Kallis & Vanier Dinoo, 1985; Klemke, 1982; Kraut, 1976; Moschis et al., 1987; Nelson *et al.*, 1996)
12. A person takes an item because they believe they are **gaining social respect** with the item taken by being someone else * (Campbell, 1981; Heath & Kosky, 1992; Moore, 1983; Schwartz & Wood, 1991; Yates, 1986)
13. A person wishes to **look more affluent** with the item taken than they actually are (Campbell, 1981; Cox et al., 1990; Cupchik, 2002)

14. A person takes an item because they **need it for a special occasion** that cannot afford otherwise (Campbell, 1981; Castiglia, 1999; Schwartz & Wood, 1991)
15. A person takes an item because they have **more self-confidence** when they have a 'flashy' and 'classy' item * (Campbell, 1981; Cupchik, 2002)
16. A person takes an item because they do not want to stand in the background on **social occasions** * (Campbell, 1981; Schwartz & Wood, 1991)
17. A person takes an item because they try to **compete with their peers** * (Cameron, 1964; Campbell, 1981; Castiglia, 1999; Cox et al., 1993; Cox et al., 1990; Cupchik, 2002; Elliott & Leonard, 2004; Klemke, 1982; Klemke, 1992; Moore, 1983; Robin, 1963; Schwartz & Wood, 1991; Verrill, 1967; Weisz et al., 2002)
18. A person takes an item because they want to **appear wealthier in front of the 'opposite sex'** with the item they now have * (Campbell, 1981; Cupchik, 2002; Meyers, 1970)
19. A **man** takes an item **to compete** with other men for **financial wealth because that is mainly what female value** (Campbell, 1981; Cupchik, 2002; Guéguen, 2003)
20. A woman takes an item to compete with other women for **physical attractiveness** because that is mainly what men value * (Campbell, 1981; Meyers, 1970; Phillips & Segal, 1969)
21. A person takes an item to **satisfy a friend's urgent need** * (Cox et al., 1990; Cupchik, 2002; Kallis & Vanier Dinoo, 1985)
22. A person takes an item to keep up with the **latest designer clothes** * (Cameron, 1964; Castiglia, 1999; Cupchik, 2002; Hayes, 1996)
23. A person takes an item because they want to **appear wealthier in front of their 'friends'** with the item they now have * (Cox et al., 1993; Schwartz & Wood, 1991)
24. A **man considers his status** more important and not the unlawful act of him taking an item * (Carroll & Weaver, 1986; Gibbens & Prince, 1962; Guéguen, 2003; Rouke, 1957; Schwartz & Wood, 1991)
25. A **woman considers her status** more important and not the unlawful act of her taking an item * (Carroll & Weaver, 1986; Gibbens & Prince, 1962; Rouke, 1957; Schwartz & Wood, 1991)
26. A person takes an item because they believe with the item they now have will help them to make a **deeper impression on their friends** * (Cameron, 1964; Castiglia, 1999; Cox et al., 1993; Robin, 1963; Rouke, 1957; Schwartz & Wood, 1991)
27. A person takes an item in to **give a nicer gift to a friend** than they can afford * (Cox et al., 1990; Kallis & Vanier Dinoo, 1985)
28. A person takes an item to **provide funds to obtain needed medical help for their loved ones** * (Cox et al., 1990; Cupchik, 2002; Kallis & Vanier Dinoo, 1985)
29. A person wants to be **accepted by friends** who take items, and therefore **demonstrates** to them that they can also take an item * (Castiglia, 1999; Cox et al., 1990; Rouke, 1957; Schwartz & Wood, 1991)
30. A person takes an item because it is important to him to have an item that is **similar to or better than their friends** have * (Castiglia, 1999; Cox et al., 1993)
31. A person takes an item to **look more highly successful and important** with the item taken because they want **to attain a specific career goal** * (Cupchik, 2002; Yates, 1986)
32. A **young person** takes an item because **youngsters mainly** do this * (Baumer & Rosenbaum, 1984; Buckle & Farrington, 1994; Castiglia, 1999; Cox et al., 1990; Heath & Kosky, 1992; Klemke, 1978, 1982; Klemke, 1992; May, 1978; Moore, 1983; Nelson et al., 1996; Osgood *et al.*, 1989; Robin, 1963; Robins, 1978; Sarasalo et al., 1997*a*; Schwartz & Wood, 1991; Svensson, 2002; Weisz et al., 2002)
33. A **young person** takes an item because they want to show they are **'cooler'** than others * (Castiglia, 1999; Moore, 1983; Schwartz & Wood, 1991)
34. A **young woman** taking an item is **demonstrating** that she is **more daring** than other women * (Castiglia, 1999; Cox et al., 1990; Kraut, 1976; Schwartz & Wood, 1991)
35. A **young man** taking an item is **demonstrating** that he is **more daring** than other men * (Castiglia, 1999; Cox et al., 1990; Kraut, 1976; Schwartz & Wood, 1991)

36. A parent takes an item because they want to appear a **better parent** with the item taken than they really are * (Castiglia, 1999; Rouke, 1957; Schwartz & Wood, 1991)
37. The person 'parent' is a **mother** and she is more likely to take an item for her **child's well being** * (Cupchik, 2002)
38. The person 'parent' is a **father** and he is more likely to take an item for his **child's well being** * (Cupchik, 2002)
39. A mother takes an item because **mothers care more about their child's need** than fathers * (Cupchik, 2002)
40. A woman takes a **cosmetic** item to **feel more attractive** * (Campbell, 1981; Meyers, 1970; Phillips & Segal, 1969; Schwartz & Wood, 1991)
41. A **woman** takes an item **without realizing** what she did * (Schwartz & Wood, 1991)
42. A **woman** takes an item because of her **sexual frustration** * (Campbell, 1981; Meyers, 1970)
43. A **woman** believes the item taken will **please her partner** * (Campbell, 1981; Cupchik, 2002; Meyers, 1970)
44. A **woman** takes an item because it is a **reaction to her stress** * (Arboleda-Florez et al., 1977; Beck & McIntyre, 1977; Cupchik, 2002; Day *et al.*, 2000; McShane *et al.*, 1991; McShane & Noonan, 1993; Moore, 1984; Ray, 1987; Russell, 1973; Schwartz & Wood, 1991; Sommers & Baskin, 1994; Tibbetts & Herz, 1996; Walsh, 1978; Yates, 1986)
45. A **woman** takes an item due to her **separation or divorce** with her partner * (Arboleda-Florez et al., 1977; Cromwell et al., 1999; Cupchik, 2002; Russell, 1973; Russell, 1978)
46. A woman takes an item because she believes the item taken will help to **impress her ideal partner** * (Campbell, 1981; Meyers, 1970)
47. A woman takes an item because her **boyfriend or partner rejected her** * (Cupchik, 2002; Russell, 1973)
48. A **woman** takes an item because women believe they are **least likely to be prosecuted after apprehension than men** * (Campbell, 1981; James Carolin Jr, 1992; Robin, 1963)
49. A **young woman** takes an item because she **wants to impress her boyfriend** with what she has * (Campbell, 1981; Cupchik, 2002; Meyers, 1970)
50. A **woman** wants to **appear younger** and **more attractive** with the item she took in order to impress a man younger than her * (Campbell, 1981; Cupchik, 2002; Meyers, 1970; Phillips & Segal, 1969)
51. By taking an item **a woman** wants to **appear younger** and **more attractive** with the item she took **in order to impress a wealthy looking man** * (Campbell, 1981; Cupchik, 2002; Meyers, 1970)
52. A woman has taken an item without realizing it because of the **menopause** * (Epps, 1962; Russell, 1973; Russell, 1978)
53. A mother has taken an item without realizing it because she has **postnatal depression** * (Epps, 1962; Gibbens, 1962; McElroy et al., 1991*a*; Russell, 1973; Russell, 1978)
54. A **woman needs the latest fashion for a night out**, and therefore takes the appropriate item * (Campbell, 1981; Schwartz & Wood, 1991)
55. A woman takes an item in order to **give a nicer gift than** she **can afford** to her boyfriend or partner * (Cox et al., 1990; Kallis & Vanier Dinoo, 1985)
56. A woman does not want to **give the impression to others** she is not wealthy enough to buy anything she wants, and therefore she takes the appropriate item * (Rouke, 1957; Schwartz & Wood, 1991)
57. A **young woman** takes an item because she wants to **look better** with an item than her girlfriend * (Cupchik, 2002; Meyers, 1970)
58. A **woman** takes an item because she **failed to remember to pay** for the item she took * (McShane & Noonan, 1993)
59. A woman wants to appear and **feel more attractive** with the item taken in order to make an **impression on a man because she is unhappy with her weight** * (Meyers, 1970; Phillips & Segal, 1969)

60. A man takes an item because **men regularly break rules** * (Campbell, 1981; Cox et al., 1990; Cupchik, 2002; Gibbens & Prince, 1962)
61. A **man** takes an item **without realizing** what he did * (Cupchik, 2002; Schwartz & Wood, 1991)
62. A **man** takes an item because it is a **reaction to his stress** * (Arboleda-Florez et al., 1977; Cupchik, 2002; Day et al., 2000; McShane & Noonan, 1993; Russell, 1973; Schwartz & Wood, 1991; Yates, 1986) (Beck & McIntyre, 1977; McShane et al., 1991; Moore, 1984; Ray, 1987; Sommers & Baskin, 1994; Tibbetts & Herz, 1996; Walsh, 1978)
63. A man believes the item taken will **please his partner** * (Cupchik, 2002; Meyers, 1970)
64. A man takes an item due to his **separation or divorce with his partner** * (Arboleda-Florez et al., 1977; Campbell, 1981; Cromwell et al., 1999; Cupchik, 2002; Russell, 1973)
65. A man takes an expensive item because **he believes he must look economically affluent to be more attractive** * (Campbell, 1981; Cupchik, 2002; James Carolin Jr, 1992; Meyers, 1970)
66. A man takes an item because **his girlfriend or partner rejected him** * (Campbell, 1981; Cupchik, 2002; Russell, 1973)
67. A man takes an item because **men will act violently to get away if apprehended from the store** * (Campbell, 1981; James Carolin Jr, 1992)
68. A man does not want to give the **impression** to others that **he is not wealthy enough** to own a particular item, and therefore takes it * (Campbell, 1981; Cupchik, 2002; Guéguen, 2003; Rouke, 1957; Schwartz & Wood, 1991)
69. A man takes an item because he believes the item taken will **help to impress his ideal partner** * (Campbell, 1981; Meyers, 1970; Schwartz & Wood, 1991)
70. A man **needs the latest fashion for a night out**, and therefore takes the appropriate item * (Campbell, 1981; Schwartz & Wood, 1991)
71. A man takes an item in order to **give a nicer gift than he can afford to his girlfriend or partner** * (Campbell, 1981; Cox et al., 1990; Kallis & Vanier Dinoo, 1985)
72. A man wants to **appear younger and more attractive** with the item he took in order to **impress a woman younger** than him * (Campbell, 1981; Meyers, 1970; Schwartz & Wood, 1991)
73. A young man takes an item because his **friends are daring him** to take it * (Castiglia, 1999; Cox et al., 1993; Cox et al., 1990; Geason & Wilson, 1992; Schwartz & Wood, 1991; Verrill, 1967)
74. A **young man** takes an item because **he is embarrassed to pay for it** * (Cameron, 1964; Cox et al., 1990; Hayes, 1997; Klemke, 1978; Mitchell et al., 1992)
75. A man takes an item because **he failed to remember to pay for the item** he took * (Cupchik & Atcheson, 1983; McShane & Noonan, 1993)
76. By taking an item a **middle-aged man wants a younger woman** to think he is better than other men * (Babin & Griffin, 1995; Campbell, 1981)
77. A father will take an item for his child, so he can **spend extra money on himself** * (Kallis & Vanier Dinoo, 1985; Klemke, 1982; Moore, 1984)
78. A **young man** takes an item because **he wants to impress his girlfriend** with what he has * (Campbell, 1981; Schwartz & Wood, 1991)
79. A **man demonstrates** he can take an item because he **wants others to be afraid of him** * (Campbell, 1981; Cox et al., 1990)
80. A person takes an item to **satisfy a relative's urgent need** * (Cox et al., 1990; Cupchik, 2002; Sarasalo et al., 1997*a*)
81. A person takes an item because they want to **appear wealthier in front of their 'parents'** with the item they now have * (Cupchik, 2002; Schwartz & Wood, 1991)
82. A person takes an item because they are trying to **compete with a family member** * (Cupchik, 2002; Linden & Hackler, 1973; Schwartz & Wood, 1991)
83. A person wants to **impress their parents with an expensive item**, and therefore take it from a store * (Cupchik, 2002; Schwartz & Wood, 1991)

84. A person takes **an item for an elderly parent that the person** is caring for * (Cupchik, 2002; Kallis & Vanier Dinoo, 1985)
85. A person takes an item because they want **their parents to think they are more successful than their siblings** * (Cupchik, 2002; Kelley *et al.*, 2003; Russell, 1978; Schwartz & Wood, 1991)
86. A person takes an item because **they believe with the item they now have will help to impress their parents** * (Cupchik, 2002; Russell, 1973)
87. A parent **forgot to pay** for the item because their **child was misbehaving** * (McShane & Noonan, 1993)
88. The item is taken because a **parent wants their child to wear the same designer brand** as other children * (Elliott & Leonard, 2004; Schwartz & Wood, 1991)
89. A parent cannot afford to buy their **child's school uniform or accessories** and therefore take it * (Schwartz & Wood, 1991)
90. A parent takes an item because they want to **appear to be a more loving parent to their peers** * (Cupchik, 2002; Moore, 1984; Schwartz & Wood, 1991)
91. A parent takes an item to please their child because they want to **keep their child happy** * (Rouke, 1957; Schwartz & Wood, 1991)
92. A parent takes an item because **they want their family to appear of a higher social class to outsiders** with the item they now have * (Campbell, 1981; Schwartz & Wood, 1991)
93. A parent is trying to **hide the family's lack of money**, and therefore takes an item * (Arboleda-Florez et al., 1977; Rouke, 1957)
94. A parent takes a **food or a clothing item for their child** because when not do so will mean their child will go without some of life's necessities * (Castiglia, 1999; Cupchik, 2002; Rouke, 1957)
95. A parent takes an item because they want **something quickly to 'stop' their child from crying** in store * (Castiglia, 1999; Cupchik, 2002)
96. A mother takes an item because **she feels good if her child looks wealthier** * (Cupchik, 2002)
97. A **father is unemployed** and takes an item because he does not want his **family** to go without anything * (Cameron, 1964; Caputo, 1998; James Carolin Jr, 1992; Klemke, 1982; Lamontagne *et al.*, 1996; Lin *et al.*, 1994; Moore, 1984)
98. A **mother is unemployed** and takes an item because she does not want her **family** to go without anything * (Cameron, 1964; Caputo, 1998; James Carolin Jr, 1992; Lamontagne et al., 1996; Lin et al., 1994; Moore, 1984)
99. A mother will take an item for her child, so **she can spend extra money on herself** * (Kallis & Vanier Dinoo, 1985; Moore, 1984)
100. A person takes an item **to prove they can cheat the system** * (Cameron, 1964; Dickens, 1969; Hart, 2003; Kallis & Vanier Dinoo, 1985; May, 1978)
101. A person takes an item because the way the item is **displayed allows them to take it** * (Farrington et al., 1994; Farrington & Burrows, 1993; French et al., 1984; Griffin, 1989; Lo, 1994; Nelson et al., 1996)
102. A woman takes an item because **women are better at going undetected than men** * (Adams & Cutshall, 1984)
103. A **residential person** takes an item because they **believe a foreign person is more noticeable to security staff** * (Hart, 2003; James Carolin Jr, 1992)
104. A person takes an item because the **general layout of the store** allows them to take it * (Arboleda-Florez et al., 1977; Campbell, 1981; Farrington et al., 1994; Farrington & Burrows, 1993; French et al., 1984; Griffin, 1989; Hayes, 1997; Lo, 1994; Nelson et al., 1996)
105. A person takes an item because they are **irritated with the shop assistant** * (Elquist, 2000; Farrington et al., 1994; Lin et al., 1994; Lo, 1994; Weaver & Carroll, 1985)
106. A **woman** takes an item because there is **no security officer close by** to see her * (Farrington et al., 1994; Farrington & Burrows, 1993; Guffey *et al.*, 1979; Hart, 2003; James Carolin Jr, 1992; Weaver & Carroll, 1985)

107. A **man** takes an item because there is **no security officer close by to see him** * (Farrington et al., 1994; Guffey et al., 1979; Hart, 2003; James Carolin Jr, 1992; Weaver & Carroll, 1985)
108. A woman takes an item because **she is better at spotting the CCTV security cameras** and avoids them being focused towards her * (Guffey et al., 1979; James Carolin Jr, 1992)
109. A man takes an item because he **believes he can escape from the store before the CCTV security system** alerts security staff * (Campbell, 1981; Guffey et al., 1979; Kallis & Vanier Dinoo, 1985)
110. A middle-aged person takes an item because **they believe a young person is more noticeable to security staff than a middle-aged person** * (Guffey et al., 1979)
111. A woman takes a **small and lower value item because it lowers her fears of getting detected** * (Carroll & Weaver, 1986; Davis *et al.*, 1991; Robin, 1963)
112. A **middle-aged** person takes an item because they believe they **are least likely to be prosecuted after apprehension than a young person** * (Hetu et al., 1994)
113. A **young person** takes an item because they **do not have enough money** for it * (Cox et al., 1990; Hindelang, 1971; Klemke, 1982; Klemke, 1992; Kraut, 1976; Moore, 1984)
114. The item taken by a **young man** is performed **with his mates because they mainly work in groups** * (Baumer & Rosenbaum, 1984; Cameron, 1964; Campbell, 1981; Robin, 1963; Schwartz & Wood, 1991)
115. The item taken by a **young woman** is performed **with her mates because they mainly work in groups** * (Baumer & Rosenbaum, 1984; Campbell, 1981; Robin, 1963; Schwartz & Wood, 1991)
116. A young person takes an item because they **cannot legally have it** * (Cox et al., 1990; Hayes, 1997; Klemke, 1982)
117. A young person takes an item because it **runs in the family** since a family member of theirs also takes items * (Castiglia, 1999; Cupchik, 2002; Klemke, 1982)
118. A young person takes an item because **youngsters tend to seek a 'thrill' in life** * (Adler, 2002; Cao & Deng, 1998; Castiglia, 1999; Hansen & Breivik, 2001; Kallis & Vanier Dinoo, 1985; Lo, 1994; Sarasalo et al., 1997*a*)
119. A person takes an item because they are **a drug-addict and needs** the item taken to pay for their dose * (Bennett, 2000; Best *et al.*, 2001; Brown & Pardue, 1985; Carcach & Makkai, 2002; Davies & Willans, 2003; Gossop *et al.*, 2000; Hart, 2003; James Carolin Jr, 1992; Johnson *et al.*, 1985; Kowalski & Faupel, 1990; Lamontagne et al., 1994; Schneider, 2003; Schwartz & Wood, 1991; Sutter, 1969; Van Kammen & Loeber, 1994)
120. A person takes an item because of their **low level in education** * (Cameron, 1964; Klemke, 1982; Klemke, 1992; Prestwich, 1978)
121. A person takes an item because they are **from a broken family** * (Hansen & Breivik, 2001; Heath & Kosky, 1992; Kelley et al., 2003; Wilkinson, 1974)
122. A **middle-aged person** takes an item because they mainly do this * (Arboleda-Florez et al., 1977; Babin & Griffin, 1995; Baumer & Rosenbaum, 1984; Buckle & Farrington, 1994; Hetu et al., 1994; McShane & Noonan, 1993)
123. A person takes an item because they came **from an unlawfully oriented subculture** * (Heath & Kosky, 1992; Johnstone, 1978; Klemke, 1992; Kowalski & Faupel, 1990; Tittle, 1985; Tittle et al., 1978)
124. The person is a **famous celebrity** and takes an item because they **want 'spotlight' media publicity** * (Adler, 2002; Cupchik, 2002)
125. A person takes an item to **keep others happy without wanting** to take it * (Castiglia, 1999; Cox et al., 1990)
126. A person takes an item **from a supermarket** because they have an **urgent hunger** since they have no money with them * (Castiglia, 1999; Johnson & Connors, 1987; Johnson et al., 1985; Pyle et al., 1981)
127. A person living in a foreign country takes an item because **foreigners mainly do this** * (Bristow *et al.*, 2002; Cameron, 1964; Ray et al., 1983; Robin, 1963; Yates, 1986)

128. A **wealthy person** takes an item because they **believe they have the authority** to take it * (Guéguen, 2003)
129. A person takes an item because they **are acting primarily out of greed** and not out of need * (Campbell, 1981; Cox et al., 1990; Griffin, 1989)
130. A **young woman** takes an item because she is **not permitted to have** the item * (Cox et al., 1990)
131. A **young woman** takes an item because she is **embarrassed to pay** for it * (Cameron, 1964; Cox et al., 1990; Hayes, 1997; Klemke, 1978; Mitchell et al., 1992)
132. A **parent** wants to impress their child by **showing them the way to take** an item * (Cupchik, 2002)
133. A **parent takes a 'sweet' item for their child while in store** and does to pay for it * (Castiglia, 1999; Cupchik, 2002)
134. A parent **cannot afford a present for their child**, and therefore takes the item * (Arboleda-Florez et al., 1977; Campbell, 1981; Cupchik, 2002)
135. A parent takes an item because they **do not want their child to feel unwanted from their child's friends** * (Elliott & Leonard, 2004)
136. A woman takes an item because **women are more likely to take an item when depressed than men** * (Campbell, 1981; Epps, 1962; Freedman et al., 1996; Fugere et al., 1995; Gibbens, 1962, 1981; McElroy et al., 1991*a*; Russell, 1973; Russell, 1978)
137. A woman takes an item to be **noticeable because her boyfriend or partner tends to ignore her** * (Campbell, 1981; Cupchik, 2002; Meyers, 1970; Russell, 1973)
138. A young woman takes an item because **her friends are daring her to take it** * (Castiglia, 1999; Cox et al., 1993; Cox et al., 1990; Geason & Wilson, 1992; Gibbens & Prince, 1962; Lo, 1994; Schwartz & Wood, 1991; Verrill, 1967)
139. A woman has taken an item because **her sensuous needs were not being fulfilled** * (Campbell, 1981; Meyers, 1970)

Appendix B:
B.1 – Attitudinal Survey

This research is part of a Doctoral Thesis, taking part in Durham Business School. It should take you around 10 minutes to complete and your participation is entirely voluntary. In protecting your confidentiality this questionnaire will remain anonymous, and the data collected will only be used for statistical analysis, so please answer ***all*** statements as honestly as you can.

The Following Statements Represent Reasons "WHY" a Person May Take an Item From a Store Without Paying for it. A person can be a customer, member of staff, or a construct employee working in a store.

INSTRUCTIONS:

For each statement please TICK ONE response only to indicate the extent to which you either 'agree' or 'disagree' that this is a reason "WHY" a person takes an item from a store without paying for it.

SECTION ONE	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. A person takes an item because they are seeking attention.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2. A person takes an item because everyone takes something at some time during his or her lifetime.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
3. A person takes an item because they believe they are gaining social respect with the item taken by being someone else.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4. A person wishes to look more affluent with the item taken than they actually are.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
5. A person takes an item because they need it for a special occasion that cannot afford otherwise.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
6. A person takes an item because they have more self-confidence when they have a 'flashy' and 'classy' item.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
7. A person takes an item because they do not want to stand in the background on social occasions.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

8. A person takes an item because they want to appear wealthier in front of the 'opposite sex' with the item they now have.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
9. A man takes an item to compete with other men for financial wealth because that is mainly what female value.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
10. A woman takes an item to compete with other women for physical attractiveness because that is mainly what men value.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
11. A person takes an item because they want to appear wealthier in front of their 'friends' with the item they now have.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
12. A man considers his status more important and not the unlawful act of him taking an item.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
13. A woman considers her status more important and not the unlawful act of her taking an item.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
14. A person takes an item because they believe with the item they now have will help them to make a deeper impression on their friends.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
15. A person takes an item to provide funds to obtain needed medical help for their loved ones.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
16. A person wants to be accepted by friends who take items, and therefore demonstrates to them that they can also take an item.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
17. A person takes an item because it is important to him to have an item that is similar to or better than their friends have.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
18. A person takes an item to look more highly successful and important with the item taken because they want to attain a specific career goal.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
19. A young man taking an item is demonstrating that he is more daring than other men.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
20. A parent takes an item because they want to appear a better parent with the item taken than they really are.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
21. The person 'parent' is a mother and she is more likely to take an item for her child's well being.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
22. A mother takes an item because mothers care more about their child's need than fathers.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
23. A woman takes a cosmetic item to feel more attractive.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
24. A woman takes an item without realizing what she did.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

25. A woman takes an item because of her sexual frustration.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
26. A woman believes the item taken will please her partner.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
27. A woman takes an item because she believes the item taken will help to impress her ideal partner.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
28. A woman takes an item because her boyfriend or partner rejected her.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
29. A woman takes an item because women believe they are least likely to be prosecuted after apprehension than men.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
30. A young woman takes an item because she wants to impress her boyfriend with what she has.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
31. A woman wants to appear younger and more attractive with the item she took in order to impress a man younger than her.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
32. By taking an item a woman wants to appear younger and more attractive with the item she took in order to impress a wealthy looking man.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
33. A mother has taken an item without realizing it because she has postnatal depression.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
34. A woman needs the latest fashion for a night out, and therefore takes the appropriate item.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
35. A woman takes an item in order to give a nicer gift than she can afford to her boyfriend or partner.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
36. A woman does not want to give the impression to others she is not wealthy enough to buy anything she wants, and therefore she takes the appropriate item.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
37. A young woman takes an item because she wants to look better with an item than her girlfriend.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
38. A woman wants to appear and feel more attractive with the item taken in order to make an impression on a man because she is unhappy with her weight.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
39. A man believes the item taken will please his partner.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
40. A man takes an expensive item because he believes he must look economically affluent to be more attractive.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

41. A man takes an item because his girlfriend or partner rejected him.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
42. A man does not want to give the impression to others that he is not wealthy enough to own a particular item, and therefore takes it.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
43. A man takes an item because he believes the item taken will help to impress his ideal partner.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
44. A man needs the latest fashion for a night out, and therefore takes the appropriate item.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
45. A man takes an item in order to give a nicer gift than he can afford to his girlfriend or partner.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
46. A man wants to appear younger and more attractive with the item he took in order to impress a woman younger than him.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
47. A young man takes an item because his friends are daring him to take it.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
48. A young man takes an item because he is embarrassed to pay for it.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
49. By taking an item a middle-aged man wants a younger woman to think he is better than other men.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
50. A young man takes an item because he wants to impress his girlfriend with what he has.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
51. A man demonstrates he can take an item because he wants others to be afraid of him.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
52. A person takes an item because they want to appear wealthier in front of their 'parents' with the item they now have.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
53. A person takes an item because they are trying to compete with a family member.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
54. A person wants to impress their parents with an expensive item, and therefore take it from a store.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
55. A person takes an item for an elderly parent that the person is caring for.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
56. A person takes an item because they want their parents to think they are more successful than their siblings.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
57. A person takes an item because they believe with the item they now have will help to impress their parents.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
58. The item is taken because a parent wants their child to wear the same designer brand as other children.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

59. A parent cannot afford to buy their child's school uniform or accessories, and therefore take it.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
60. A parent takes an item because they want to appear to be a more loving parent to their peers.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
61. A parent takes an item to please their child because they want to keep their child happy.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
62. A parent takes an item because they want their family to appear of a higher social class to outsiders with the item they now have.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
63. A parent is trying to hide the family's lack of money, and therefore takes an item.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
64. A parent takes a food or a clothing item for their child because when not do so will mean their child will go without some of life's necessities.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
65. A mother takes an item because she feels good if her child looks wealthier.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
66. A father is unemployed and takes an item because he does not want his family to go without anything.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
67. A mother will take an item for her child, so she can spend extra money on herself.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
68. A woman takes an item because women are better at going undetected than men.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
69. A residential person takes an item because they believe a foreign person is more noticeable to security staff.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
70. A woman takes an item because there is no security officer close by to see her.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
71. A woman takes an item because she is better at spotting the CCTV security cameras and avoids them being focused towards her.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
72. A man takes an item because he believes he can escape from the store before the CCTV security system alerts security staff.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
73. A middle-aged person takes an item because they believe a young person is more noticeable to security staff than a middle-aged person.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
74. A woman takes a small and lower value item because it lowers her fears of getting detected.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
75. A middle-aged person takes an item because they believe they are least likely to be prosecuted after apprehension than a young person.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

76. A young person takes an item because they do not have enough money for it.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
77. The person is a famous celebrity and takes an item because they want 'spotlight' media publicity.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
78. A person takes an item to keep others happy without wanting to take it.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
79. A person takes an item from a supermarket because they have an urgent hunger since they have no money with them.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
80. A person living in a foreign country takes an item because foreigners mainly do this.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
81. A young woman takes an item because she is not permitted to have the item.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
82. A young woman takes an item because she is embarrassed to pay for it.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
83. A parent cannot afford a present for their child, and therefore takes the item.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
84. A parent takes an item because they do not want their child to feel unwanted from their child's friends.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
85. A woman takes an item because women are more likely to take an item when depressed than men.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
86. A woman takes an item to be noticeable because her boyfriend or partner tends to ignore her.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
87. A young woman takes an item because her friends are daring her to take it.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
88. A woman has taken an item because her sensuous needs were not being fulfilled.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

SECTION TWO

We also need to know the following demographic information about you in order to see how various opinions can be related with certain views held by people. Please TICK the appropriate response that represents you.

Your Sex?	*Male* ☐	*Female* ☐					
Your Marital Status?	*Single* ☐	*Married* ☐	*Divorced* ☐	*Separated* ☐	*Widowed* ☐	*In a committed relationship* ☐	
Do you have children?	*Yes* ☐	*No* ☐					
Household members including yourself?	*One* ☐	*Two* ☐	*Three* ☐	*Four* ☐	*Five* ☐	*Over Five* ☐	
Your Age?	*< 18* ☐	*18-25* ☐	*26-35* ☐	*36-45* ☐	*46-55* ☐	*56-65* ☐	*+ 66* ☐
Your Educational level?	*Unfinished High School* ☐		*High School* ☐	*College or University* ☐		*Postgraduate* ☐	*Other* ☐
Your Occupation?	*Full Time Student* ☐	*Full Time Employed* ☐	*Part Time Employed* ☐	*Self-employed* ☐	*Unemployed* ☐	*Home Maker* ☐	*Other* ☐
Your Nationality?	_____						

Thank you very much for your time. Your answers will be greatly appreciated.

B.2 – Covering Letter

UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM BUSINESS SCHOOL RESEARCH PROGRAMME 2004

The Questions in this Questionnaire Represent Reasons "WHY" a Person May Take an Item From a Store Without Paying for it.
That person can be a customer, member of staff, or a construct employee working in a store.

This research is part of a Doctoral Thesis, taking part in Durham Business School. It should take you around 10 minutes to complete and your participation is entirely voluntary. In protecting your confidentiality this questionnaire will remain anonymous, and the data collected will only be used for statistical analysis, so please answer all questions in the questionnaire as honestly as you can.

By: Anthea Christodoulou
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DH1 3LB, U.K

E-mail: anthea.christodoulou@durham.ac.uk

Thank you for your co-operation and your answers will be greatly appreciated

Appendix C:
C.1 – List of Interviewees

The discussion was around Business and Retail Crime. Specifically, the interview highlighted the importance of a particular offence more commonly committed than any other types of crime by a larger segment of the population. Mainly the interview discussed the main cause(s) behind 'theft from stores' (TFS).

1. Mr. John Whatling

Crime Reduction Partnership Manager, Oxford Street Association

2. Mr. Andrew Bayes

Partnership Team from New Scotland Yard, Metropolitan Police

3. Mr. Bourke Damien

Business Crime Team from Home Office, Government's policy

- How is this type of crime prioritized over other demands (public and private sectors)?
- Is the scale and cost of the problem known to the businesses and in general the society?
- Identifying store theft & raising awareness of the problem within businesses (staff, security, management) and to the wider community (public safety).
- The extent to which your organisation profiles store theft? And, to your opinion the extent public organisation does?
- Build and share knowledge between public and private organisations.
- The methods deterring this type of crime: e.g. the use of technologies, training, layout of the environment.
- Do you categorize crime as being either major (high profile crime such as murder, armed robbery and rape) or volume (burglary and shoplifting)?
- Do you consider TFS as an increasing international activity?
- Is the scale and cost of the problem increasing, and if so why?
- Raising awareness of the problem within private and public sector, as well as to the wider community (public safety).

C.2 – Invitation Letter

University of Durham

Anthea Christodoulou

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Professor Michael Blakemore

I am a doctoral student in the Business School, working with Professor Blakemore in my research into Retail Crime (theft from stores). The early part of my research has involved working with a range of stakeholders (consumers, retailers, and law enforcers) here in the North East. I first met them to understand the extent to which their views of those undertaking retail crimes were based on evidence and/or stereotyping. We reviewed the normal geodemographics and psychographic components, behaviour and criminality aspects, as well as a more spatial conception of retail crime as a contest over spaces of retail consumption. I then went on to undertake in depth interviews with the stakeholders to see if we could summarise their views objectively.

The analysis of the interviews that I have undertaken identified seven main drivers for retail crime: Financially driven; Relationship preservation & enhancement driven; Kin esteem & recognition driven; Parental Investment driven; The different mechanisms of avoiding detection; Attraction driven, particularly the desire for physical attention; Social structure driven, particularly the desire for the enhancement of status.

The next part of my research is to work with the stakeholders in reviewing the various anti-theft strategies that are in place currently, and to link the research and the literature with this experience in the identification of possible new strategies and potential policy making. Importantly this will involve meetings with key agencies and organisations in the UK to understand their conceptions of retail crime, and the range of existing strategies.

For that reason we would be very grateful for an opportunity to meet your organisation for a short meeting where we can discuss how you view retail crime and understand the nature of the strategies to confront it, and minimise it.

Professor Blakemore and I will be in London on **Tuesday 22nd February 2005**, between 1200 and 1700. We would be grateful if you would be available for a meeting that day. If that is possible could you please suggest a suitable time, and if that day is not suitable we could arrange another date to meet you. Please can you reply to my email, since Professor Blakemore is currently away in India.

Yours Faithfully,

Ms Anthea Christodoulou
Doctoral Researcher

Appendix D:
D.1 – List of Stores that Value Stolen Goods

- Arts, Crafts & Antique Stores
- Books & Literature Stores
- Books & Magazine Stores
- Baby and Childress Stores
- Clothing & Accessories Stores
- Clothing & Fashion Stores
- Lingerie Stores
- Cosmetics & Beauty Stores
- Pharmacy Stores
- Jewellery Stores
- Computer & Electrical Stores
- DVDs & Video Stores
- Flowers & Chocolate Stores
- Food & Drink (alcohol) Stores
- Gift Stores & Stores
- Health & Fitness Stores
- High Street Stores
- DIY Home Stores
- Garden Stores
- Leisure & Hobby Stores
- Sport & Fitness Stores
- Mobile Phones Stores
- Music CDs Stores
- Pets & Accessory Stores
- Toys & Games Stores
- Wedding Stores
- Chain Stores
- Discount Stores
- Car & Motoring Stores
- Car Accessories Stores

Appendix E:
E.1 – Characteristics of the Sample

Your Sex?	Male	Female					
	44.6 %	**55.4 %**					
Your Marital Status?	Single	Married	Divorced	Separated	Widowed	In a committed relationship	
	48.3 %	**28 %**	**3.7 %**	**1.7 %**	**1.4 %**	**16.9 %**	
Do you have children?	Yes	No					
	32.6 %	**67.4 %**					
Household Memb. with yourself?*	One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Over Five	
	14.6 %	**24.6 %**	**25.1 %**	**24 %**	**6.9 %**	**4.6 %**	
Your Age?	< 18	18-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65	+ 66
	1.7 %	**37.7 %**	**33.4 %**	**14.3 %**	**10 %**	**2.6 %**	**.3 %**
Your Educational level?**	Unfinished High School		High School	College or University		Postgraduate	Other
	2.9 %		**20.9 %**	**33.4 %**		**34.6 %**	**7.7%**
Your Occupation	Full Time student	Full Time employed	Part Time employed	Self-employed	Unemployed	Homemaker	Other
	26.6 %	**51.1 %**	**17.4 %**	**2 %**	**1.1 %**	**.9 %**	**.9 %**

*Missing value .3%
**Missing value .6%

Table E.1-1 Demographic Information about the Respondents (n= 350)
Source: The Study's Survey Results

All respondents ($n = 350$) were divided into three groups:

- Consumers **49.7 %**
- Retailers **46.9 %**
- Law enforcers **3.4 %**

E.2 – Population Size of Census UK National Statistics

UNITED KINGDOM 'S TOTAL POPULATION			
	Total Population		**Minority Ethnic Population**
	Count	**%**	**%**
White	54153898	92.1	n/a
Mixed	1.677117	1.2	14.6
Asian or Asian British			
Indian	1053411	1.8	22.7
Pakistani	747285	1.3	16.1
Bangladeshi	283063	0.5	6.1
Other Asian	247664	0.4	5.3
Black or Black British			
Black Caribbean	565876	1.0	12.2
Black African	485277	0.8	10.5
Black Other	97585	0.2	2.1
Chinese	247403	0.4	5.3
Other	230615	0.4	5.0
All Minority Ethnic Population	4635296	7.9	100
All Population	58789194	100	n/a

Table E.2-1 The UK Population: by Ethnic Group, April 2001
Source: Census, April 2001, Office for UK National Statistics (Census Ethnicity, 2003)

Appendix F:
F.1 – Assessing Normality Tests

One-Sample Kolmogorov-Smirnov Test

		Total Score
N		350
Normal Parameters[a,b]	Mean	162.13
	Std. Deviation	36.218
Most Extreme Differences	Absolute	.030
	Positive	.028
	Negative	-.030
Kolmogorov-Smirnov Z		.564
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)		.908

a. Test distribution is Normal.

b. Calculated from data.

Table F.1-1 One-Sample Kolmogorov-Smirnov Test

Descriptives

			Statistic	Std. Error
Total Score	Mean		162.13	1.936
	95% Confidence Interval for Mean	Lower Bound	158.32	
		Upper Bound	165.93	
	5% Trimmed Mean		162.95	
	Median		163.00	
	Variance		1311.755	
	Std. Deviation		36.218	
	Minimum		59	
	Maximum		258	
	Range		199	
	Interquartile Range		48.25	
	Skewness		-.284	.130
	Kurtosis		.100	.260

Table F.1-2 Descriptive Statistics of Total Attitude Score

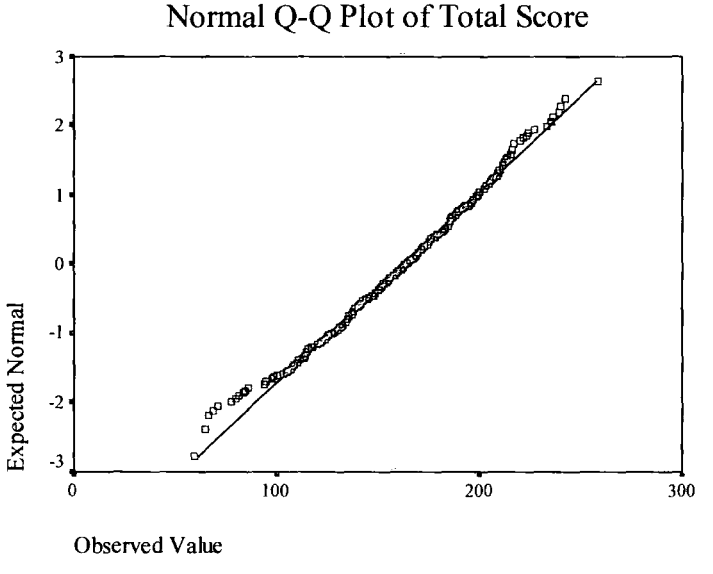

Figure F.1-1 Normal Q-Q Plot of Total Attitude Score

F.2 – Reliability Coefficients for the 88 Items

Reliability Analysis – Scale (Alpha)

Item-total Statistics

		Mean	Std Dev	Cases			Mean	Std Dev	Cases
1.	Q1	2.6200	1.1157	350.0	49.	Q49	2.4829	.9861	350.0
2.	Q2	2.1171	1.0762	350.0	50.	Q50	3.0600	1.0729	350.0
3.	Q3	2.4543	1.0335	350.0	51.	Q51	2.9943	1.1654	350.0
4.	Q4	3.0971	1.0278	350.0	52.	Q52	2.4743	1.0202	350.0
5.	Q5	3.1600	1.0612	350.0	53.	Q53	2.7343	1.0411	350.0
6.	Q6	2.9857	1.0475	350.0	54.	Q54	2.4943	1.0205	350.0
7.	Q7	2.6171	.9822	350.0	55.	Q55	2.6714	1.0258	350.0
8.	Q8	3.0171	1.0461	350.0	56.	Q56	2.6771	1.0524	350.0
9.	Q9	2.6086	1.0535	350.0	57.	Q57	2.5343	.9828	350.0
10.	Q10	2.6171	1.0927	350.0	58.	Q58	3.1514	1.1292	350.0
11.	Q11	3.1886	1.0592	350.0	59.	Q59	3.2943	1.0444	350.0
12.	Q12	2.8943	1.1191	350.0	60.	Q60	2.7571	1.0522	350.0
13.	Q13	2.8200	1.0566	350.0	61.	Q61	3.1657	1.0844	350.0
14.	Q14	3.0229	1.0487	350.0	62.	Q62	3.0400	1.0805	350.0
15.	Q15	2.6429	1.1535	350.0	63.	Q63	3.3029	1.0351	350.0
16.	Q16	3.5286	1.0749	350.0	64.	Q64	3.4600	1.0798	350.0
17.	Q17	3.4514	.9909	350.0	65.	Q65	2.9200	1.0321	350.0
18.	Q18	2.4514	1.0138	350.0	66.	Q66	3.5629	.9901	350.0
19.	Q19	3.4229	1.0989	350.0	67.	Q67	2.5143	.9716	350.0
20.	Q20	2.5971	1.1051	350.0	68.	Q68	2.5714	1.0181	350.0
21.	Q21	3.0971	1.1186	350.0	69.	Q69	2.4714	1.0560	350.0
22.	Q22	2.2314	1.0188	350.0	70.	Q70	3.0486	1.1231	350.0
23.	Q23	3.1829	1.0710	350.0	71.	Q71	2.4429	1.0385	350.0
24.	Q24	2.5943	1.1385	350.0	72.	Q72	2.8600	1.0841	350.0
25.	Q25	2.2143	1.0198	350.0	73.	Q73	2.8229	1.0558	350.0
26.	Q26	2.6171	1.0250	350.0	74.	Q74	2.8114	1.0565	350.0
27.	Q27	2.6629	1.0492	350.0	75.	Q75	2.6943	1.0629	350.0
28.	Q28	2.5743	1.0374	350.0	76.	Q76	3.6314	1.0177	350.0
29.	Q29	2.5400	1.0584	350.0	77.	Q77	2.7886	1.1053	350.0
30.	Q30	2.9371	1.0579	350.0	78.	Q78	2.9314	1.1182	350.0
31.	Q31	2.6171	1.0024	350.0	79.	Q79	3.0914	1.1114	350.0
32.	Q32	2.7171	1.0393	350.0	80.	Q80	2.0229	.9868	350.0
33.	Q33	3.0943	1.0542	350.0	81.	Q81	2.7943	1.0668	350.0
34.	Q34	3.1086	1.1150	350.0	82.	Q82	2.6000	1.0891	350.0
35.	Q35	3.0086	1.0611	350.0	83.	Q83	3.3086	1.0053	350.0
36.	Q36	3.1571	1.0737	350.0	84.	Q84	3.0829	1.0552	350.0
37.	Q37	3.0400	1.0120	350.0	85.	Q85	2.6857	1.0316	350.0
38.	Q38	2.7457	1.0105	350.0	86.	Q86	2.6200	1.0106	350.0
39.	Q39	2.7314	.9676	350.0	87.	Q87	3.4714	1.0506	350.0
40.	Q40	2.9714	1.0567	350.0	88.	Q88	2.3914	1.0260	350.0
41.	Q41	2.4257	.9109	350.0					
42.	Q42	3.1029	1.0439	350.0					
43.	Q43	2.8857	1.0177	350.0					
44.	Q44	2.8171	1.1078	350.0					
45.	Q45	3.1314	1.0865	350.0					
46.	Q46	2.6857	1.0177	350.0					
47.	Q47	3.8229	.9827	350.0					
48.	Q48	2.7771	1.1686	350.0					

Reliability Coefficients

N of Cases = 350.0 N of Items = 88

Alpha = ***.9713***

Table F.2-1 Reliability Coefficients for the 88 Items

F.3 – Reliability Coefficients for the 57 Items

Reliability Analysis – Scale (Alpha)

Item-total Statistics

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Alpha if Item Deleted		Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Alpha if Item Deleted
Q6	159.1400	1274.6308	.4817	.9694	Q61	158.9600	1263.6947	.6081	.9691
Q7	159.5086	1273.4713	.5324	.9693	Q62	159.0857	1256.7319	.7030	.9688
Q8	159.1086	1266.6243	.5914	.9691	Q63	158.8229	1266.6333	.5979	.9691
Q9	159.5171	1268.9725	.5552	.9692	Q65	159.2057	1261.0005	.6779	.9689
Q10	159.5086	1266.7779	.5629	.9692	Q66	158.5629	1277.7195	.4670	.9695
Q11	158.9371	1266.7296	.5823	.9691	Q67	159.6114	1273.2182	.5422	.9692
Q14	159.1029	1267.1928	.5821	.9691	Q68	159.5543	1274.2821	.5013	.9694
Q17	158.6743	1273.8879	.5215	.9693	Q69	159.6543	1272.0836	.5118	.9693
Q20	159.5286	1269.4648	.5215	.9693	Q70	159.0771	1265.7161	.5604	.9692
Q23	158.9429	1265.0741	.5977	.9691	Q73	159.3029	1270.3206	.5357	.9693
Q26	159.5086	1267.3509	.5940	.9691	Q74	159.3143	1273.9353	.4867	.9694
Q27	159.4629	1264.1691	.6230	.9690	Q75	159.4314	1272.6930	.5002	.9694
Q28	159.5514	1272.1621	.5205	.9693	Q83	158.8171	1275.1928	.4952	.9694
Q29	159.5857	1273.8823	.4865	.9694	Q84	159.0429	1262.4480	.6427	.9690
Q30	159.1886	1259.7695	.6773	.9689	Q86	159.5057	1267.8037	.5965	.9691
Q31	159.5086	1265.1045	.6401	.9690	Q88	159.7343	1275.4679	.4808	.9694
Q32	159.4086	1257.4286	.7224	.9687					
Q34	159.0171	1258.8249	.6533	.9689					
Q35	159.1171	1264.9003	.6058	.9691					
Q36	158.9686	1260.5176	.6569	.9689					
Q37	159.0857	1262.9439	.6644	.9689					
Q38	159.3800	1264.3738	.6451	.9690					
Q39	159.3943	1265.1736	.6631	.9689					
Q40	159.1543	1257.0879	.7146	.9688					
Q41	159.7000	1277.2937	.5165	.9693					
Q42	159.0229	1261.5296	.6626	.9689					
Q43	159.2400	1258.2230	.7271	.9687					
Q44	159.3086	1263.7269	.5942	.9691					
Q45	158.9943	1259.2378	.6658	.9689					
Q46	159.4400	1262.2013	.6710	.9689					
Q49	159.6429	1266.1042	.6366	.9690					
Q50	159.0657	1260.0730	.6634	.9689					
Q51	159.1314	1269.6618	.4905	.9694					
Q52	159.6514	1266.6976	.6061	.9691					
Q53	159.3914	1269.2303	.5586	.9692					
Q54	159.6314	1266.5944	.6074	.9691					
Q55	159.4543	1275.4406	.4813	.9694					
Q56	159.4486	1263.5203	.6299	.9690					
Q57	159.5914	1265.7208	.6445	.9690					
Q58	158.9743	1265.3948	.5612	.9692					
Q60	159.3686	1262.5486	.6433	.9690					

Reliability Coefficients

N of Cases = 350.0 N of Items = 57

Alpha = ***.9696***

Table F.3-1 Reliability Coefficients for the 57 Items

Appendix G:
G.1 – Hypotheses Tests

Group Statistics

	Sex	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Total Score	male	156	164.03	36.178	2.897
	female	194	160.60	36.272	2.604

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
									95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	Lower	Upper
Total Score	Equal variances assumed	.004	.950	.880	348	.380	3.43	3.896	-4.235	11.091
	Equal variances not assumed			.880	332.418	.379	3.43	3.895	-4.234	11.090

Tables G.1-1/2 Independent Samples T-Test for Male and Female Survey Scores (Unrelated t Test)

ANOVA

Total Score

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	1490.104	5	298.021	.225	.952
Within Groups	456312.365	344	1326.489		
Total	457802.469	349			

Table G.1-3 One-Way ANOVA Test for Different Marital Status Groups (Unrelated ANOVA)

Group Statistics

	Children	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Total Score	yes	114	160.18	34.528	3.234
	no	236	163.06	37.042	2.411

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
									95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	Lower	Upper
Total Score	Equal variances assumed	.554	.457	-.697	348	.487	-2.88	4.134	-11.010	5.251
	Equal variances not assumed			-.714	238.179	.476	-2.88	4.034	-10.826	5.067

Table G.1-4/5 Independent Samples T-Test for Parents and Childless Respondents (Unrelated t Test)

ANOVA

Total Score

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	5917.979	5	1183.596	.899	.482
Within Groups	451711.711	343	1316.944		
Total	457629.691	348			

Table G.1-6 One-Way ANOVA Test for Households of Different Sizes (Unrelated ANOVA)

ANOVA

Total Score

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	5954.133	6	992.355	.753	.607
Within Groups	451848.336	343	1317.342		
Total	457802.469	349			

Table G.1-7 One-Way ANOVA Test for Different Age Group (Unrelated ANOVA)

Descriptives

Total Score

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Unfinished high school	10	144.50	36.394	11.509	118.47	170.53	66	189
High school	73	165.19	30.623	3.584	158.05	172.34	106	242
College or University	117	157.26	35.392	3.272	150.78	163.74	59	233
Postgraduate	121	169.16	38.554	3.505	162.22	176.10	65	258
Other	27	149.04	37.162	7.152	134.34	163.74	80	223
Total	348	162.05	36.259	1.944	158.23	165.88	59	258

ANOVA

Total Score

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	17172.860	4	4293.215	3.354	.010
Within Groups	439021.102	343	1279.945		
Total	456193.963	347			

Table G.1-8/9 One-Way ANOVA Test for Different Sectors of Educational Group (Unrelated ANOVA)

Descriptives

Total Score

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Full Time Student	93	170.55	38.731	4.016	162.57	178.52	69	258
Full Time Employed	179	158.58	33.307	2.489	153.67	163.49	65	240
Part Time Employed	61	158.28	38.606	4.943	148.39	168.17	59	242
Self-employed	7	166.43	48.314	18.261	121.75	211.11	82	224
Unemployed	4	183.50	12.662	6.331	163.35	203.65	168	199
Homemaker	3	135.67	38.527	22.244	39.96	231.37	98	175
Other	3	178.67	20.207	11.667	128.47	228.86	157	197
Total	350	162.13	36.218	1.936	158.32	165.93	59	258

ANOVA

Total Score

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	14627.551	6	2437.925	1.887	.082
Within Groups	443174.918	343	1292.055		
Total	457802.469	349			

Table G.1-10/11 One-Way ANOVA Test for Different Occupation Categories (Unrelated ANOVA)

Test of Homogeneity of Variances

Total Score

Levene Statistic	df1	df2	Sig.
.871	2	347	.420

Table G.1-11 Test of Homogeneity of Three Different Population Variances

Descriptives

Total Score

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Consumer	174	165.35	37.038	2.808	159.81	170.89	65	258
Retailer	164	157.54	34.606	2.702	152.20	162.87	59	227
Police	12	178.08	39.253	11.331	153.14	203.02	130	240
Total	350	162.13	36.218	1.936	158.32	165.93	59	258

ANOVA

Total Score

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	8319.156	2	4159.578	3.211	.042
Within Groups	449483.312	347	1295.341		
Total	457802.469	349			

Table G.1-12/13 One-Way ANOVA Test for Three Different Populations Identified (Unrelated ANOVA)

Appendix H:
H.1– Hypotheses Testing

Hypotheses	Dependent Variable	Research Hypothesis (Hx)	Null Hypothesis (Ho)
H_1	Sex	In a survey of lay attitudes toward the causes of theft from stores proposed by intellectuals, significant differences will be observed between male and female survey scores	In a survey of lay attitudes toward the causes of theft from stores proposed by intellectuals, significant differences will not be observed between male and female survey scores
H_2	Status	In a survey of lay attitudes toward the causes of theft from stores proposed by intellectuals, significant differences in survey scores will be observed between different marital status groups	In a survey of lay attitudes toward the causes of theft from stores proposed by intellectuals, significant differences in survey scores will not be observed between different marital status groups
H_3	Children	In a survey of lay attitudes toward the causes of theft from stores proposed by intellectuals, significant differences in survey scores will be observed between parents and childless respondents	In a survey of lay attitudes toward the causes of theft from stores proposed by intellectuals, significant differences in survey scores will not be observed between parents and childless respondents
H_4	Household	In a survey of lay attitudes toward the causes of theft from stores proposed by intellectuals, significant differences in survey scores will be observed between households of different sizes	In a survey of lay attitudes toward the causes of theft from stores proposed by intellectuals, significant differences in survey scores will not be observed between households of different sizes
H_5	Age	In a survey of lay attitudes toward the causes of theft from stores proposed by intellectuals, significant differences in survey scores will be observed between different age groups	In a survey of lay attitudes toward the causes of theft from stores proposed by intellectuals, significant differences in survey scores will not be observed between different age groups
H_6	Education	In a survey of lay attitudes toward the causes of theft from stores proposed by intellectuals, significant differences in survey scores will be observed between different sectors of educational groups	In a survey of lay attitudes toward the causes of theft from stores proposed by intellectuals, significant differences in survey scores will not be observed between different sectors of educational groups

Continued...

H_7	Occupation	In a survey of lay attitudes toward the causes of theft from stores proposed by intellectuals, significant differences in survey scores will be observed between different occupation categories	In a survey of lay attitudes toward the causes of theft from stores proposed by intellectuals, significant differences in survey scores will not be observed between different occupation categories
H_8	Population	In a survey of lay attitudes toward the causes of theft from stores proposed by intellectuals, significant differences in survey scores will be observed between the three different populations identified	In a survey of lay attitudes toward the causes of theft from stores proposed by intellectuals, significant differences in survey scores will not be observed between the three different populations identified

If P <0 .05, reject null
If P >0 .05, retain null

Table H.1-1 Hypotheses Testing for H_1 to H_8

H.2 – Attitudinal Outcome

Hypotheses	Dependent Variable*	Hypothesis Testing (Parametric Statistical Tests = Unrelated t Test / Unrelated ANOVA)
H_1	Sex	The results *(n=350)* were not significant *(t= 0.880, df=348, p=0.380).* The null hypothesis is therefore retained.
H_2	Status	The results *(n=350)* were not significant *(f= 0.225, df=349, p=0.952).* The null hypothesis is therefore retained.
H_3	Children	The results *(n=350)* were not significant *(t= -0.697, df=348, p=0.487).* The null hypothesis is therefore retained.
H_4	Household	The results *(n=349)* were not significant *(f= 0.899, df=348, p=0.482).* The null hypothesis is therefore retained.
H_5	Age	The results *(n=350)* were not significant *(f= 0.753, df=349, p=0.607).* The null hypothesis is therefore retained.
H_6	**Education**	**The results *(n=348)* were significant *(f= 3.354, df=347, p=0.010).* The null hypothesis can therefore be rejected.**
H_7	Occupation	The results *(n=350)* were not significant *(f= 1.887, df=349, p=0.082).* The null hypothesis is therefore retained.
H_8	**Population**	**The results *(n=350)* were significant *(f= 3.211, df=349, p=0.042).* The null hypothesis can therefore be rejected.**

** Total questionnaire scores - This is the dependent variable in the study (the DV), being the level of agreement respondents have with the academics explanations on the causes of TFS.*
*** Grouping purposes - Measure potential differences in attitudes between groups using the various independent variables (IV).*

Table H.2-1 Results from the Hypotheses H_1 to H_8

Appendix I:
I.1 – Factor Analysis: Phase One

KMO and Bartlett's Test

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		.952
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	12210.841
	df	1596
	Sig.	.000

Table I.1-1 Meyer-Olkin and Bartlett's Test for the Ten Factors

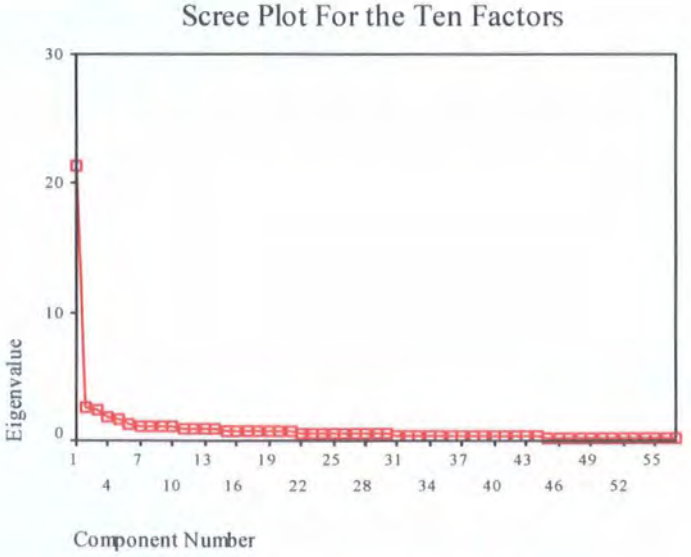

Figure I.1-1 Screeplot for the Ten Factors

Total Variance Explained

	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
Component	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	21.428	37.594	37.594	21.428	37.594	37.594	6.020	10.562	10.562
2	2.625	4.606	42.199	2.625	4.606	42.199	4.974	8.727	19.289
3	2.461	4.318	46.517	2.461	4.318	46.517	4.943	8.672	27.960
4	1.873	3.286	49.803	1.873	3.286	49.803	4.729	8.297	36.257
5	1.737	3.046	52.849	1.737	3.046	52.849	4.082	7.162	43.419
6	1.369	2.402	55.252	1.369	2.402	55.252	3.582	6.284	49.703
7	1.195	2.096	57.347	1.195	2.096	57.347	2.623	4.601	54.304
8	1.108	1.944	59.292	1.108	1.944	59.292	1.862	3.267	57.571
9	1.041	1.827	61.118	1.041	1.827	61.118	1.792	3.144	60.715
10	1.024	1.797	62.915	1.024	1.797	62.915	1.254	2.200	62.915
11	.906	1.590	64.505						
12	.874	1.534	66.039						
13	.857	1.503	67.542						
14	.842	1.477	69.019						
15	.822	1.442	70.461						
16	.780	1.368	71.829						
17	.753	1.321	73.151						
18	.743	1.304	74.454						
19	.705	1.238	75.692						
20	.676	1.186	76.877						
21	.644	1.130	78.008						
22	.638	1.118	79.126						
23	.586	1.028	80.154						
24	.574	1.008	81.161						
25	.565	.991	82.152						
26	.550	.965	83.117						
27	.512	.899	84.016						
28	.490	.860	84.876						
29	.482	.845	85.721						
30	.461	.810	86.531						
31	.444	.779	87.309						
32	.440	.772	88.081						
33	.422	.741	88.822						
34	.414	.726	89.548						
35	.399	.700	90.248						
36	.387	.679	90.927						
37	.378	.663	91.590						
38	.350	.615	92.205						
39	.338	.592	92.797						
40	.325	.570	93.367						
41	.310	.545	93.912						
42	.294	.515	94.427						
43	.287	.503	94.930						
44	.277	.486	95.416						
45	.261	.458	95.874						
46	.243	.426	96.300						
47	.239	.420	96.720						
48	.228	.400	97.119						
49	.219	.384	97.503						
50	.215	.378	97.881						
51	.208	.365	98.246						
52	.191	.336	98.582						
53	.188	.330	98.911						
54	.178	.313	99.224						
55	.166	.292	99.516						
56	.145	.254	99.770						
57	.131	.230	100.000						

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Table I.1-2 Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings for the Ten Factors

Rotated Component Matrix	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**
A person takes an item because they have more self-confidence when they have a 'flashy' and 'classy' item.	.109	.113	9.713E-02	.163	1.200E-02	.410	***.538***	.265	-8.204E-02	.179
A person takes an item because they do not want to stand in the background on social occasions.	6.923E-02	.269	.207	8.865E-02	.180	.322	***.595***	5.954E-02	-5.968E-02	-6.675E-02
A person takes an item because they want to appear wealthier in front of the 'opposite sex' with the item they now have.	.291	.169	.191	9.890E-02	8.804E-02	***.626***	.347	-6.948E-02	4.903E-03	.104
A man takes an item to compete with other men for financial wealth because that is mainly what female value.	.160	.132	.163	.125	.142	***.759***	.129	.110	9.366E-02	-7.799E-02
A woman takes an item to compete with other women for physical attractiveness because that is mainly what men value.	.113	.201	.131	.148	.115	***.799***	.154	.108	6.638E-02	-3.629E-02
A person takes an item because they want to appear wealthier in front of their 'friends' with the item they now have.	.389	7.762E-02	.110	.204	1.410E-02	.433	***.486***	-5.345E-02	8.579E-02	.148
A person takes an item because they believe with the item they now have will help them to make a deeper impression on their friends.	.217	.191	.116	.187	.126	.181	***.631***	6.712E-02	.240	4.240E-02
A person takes an item because it is important to him to have an item that is similar to or better than their friends have.	.339	.119	8.387E-02	.382	-7.773E-04	7.234E-02	***.565***	-3.873E-02	1.761E-02	2.602E-02
A parent takes an item because they want to appear a better parent with the item taken than they really are.	3.309E-02	.117	.378	.281	3.801E-02	.204	8.439E-02	***.420***	.236	.158
A woman takes a cosmetic item to feel more attractive.	.325	***.433***	5.013E-02	.148	.190	.271	.128	1.348E-02	.252	-4.819E-02
A woman believes the item taken will please her partner.	.264	.455	.254	.103	-4.338E-02	.164	.157	2.495E-02	***.489***	.112

A woman takes an item because she believes the item taken will help to impress her ideal partner.	.312	***.520***	.110	9.498E-02	1.867E-03	.329	.134	.131	.325	1.001E-02
A woman takes an item because her boyfriend or partner rejected her.	.112	***.717***	.114	.154	2.040E-02	-1.827E-02	.146	.142	.188	5.658E-02
A woman takes an item because women believe they are least likely to be prosecuted after apprehension than men.	.131	.199	6.131E-02	.152	.401	8.168E-02	1.844E-02	2.953E-02	***.617***	.130
A young woman takes an item because she wants to impress her boyfriend with what she has.	***.486***	.423	.223	.122	.154	.260	.117	-.108	.141	9.073E-02
A woman wants to appear younger and more attractive with the item she took in order to impress a man younger than her.	.292	***.602***	.219	.127	.219	.259	3.509E-02	-.197	.155	6.231E-03
By taking an item a woman wants to appear younger and more attractive with the item she took in order to impress a wealthy looking man.	.354	***.538***	.217	.116	.274	.326	6.084E-02	-1.154E-02	.198	-5.089E-02
A woman needs the latest fashion for a night out, and therefore takes the appropriate item.	***.567***	9.565E-02	.141	.265	.224	.196	4.276E-02	.232	.187	-9.131E-02
A woman takes an item in order to give a nicer gift than she can afford to her boyfriend or partner.	***.597***	.132	.250	.262	9.241E-02	-3.918E-03	.215	5.054E-02	.145	-.294
A woman does not want to give the impression to others she is not wealthy enough to buy anything she wants, and therefore she takes the appropriate item.	***.666***	.170	.101	.269	.174	.147	6.898E-02	6.046E-02	.143	2.606E-02
A young woman takes an item because she wants to look better with an item than her girlfriend.	***.689***	.280	.178	.134	.161	.104	.153	1.260E-02	1.383E-02	4.984E-02
A woman wants to appear and feel more attractive with the item taken in order to make an impression on a man because she is unhappy with her weight.	.309	***.575***	.205	.195	8.777E-02	.191	.142	9.962E-02	-1.720E-02	1.035E-02
A man believes the item taken will please his partner.	.354	***.454***	.313	.226	.156	.128	.149	-7.495E-02	5.998E-02	5.872E-02

A man takes an expensive item because he believes he must look economically affluent to be more attractive.	***.461***	***.274***	.194	.169	.266	.367	.153	.118	-4.040E-03	.188
A man takes an item because his girlfriend or partner rejected him.	6.572E-02	***.704***	.201	.166	.116	3.905E-03	5.637E-02	.189	-7.162E-02	9.790E-02
A man does not want to give the impression to others that he is not wealthy enough to own a particular item, and therefore takes it.	***.553***	.196	3.891E-02	.290	.195	.261	.137	.185	-6.139E-02	.315
A man takes an item because he believes the item taken will help to impress his ideal partner.	***.527***	.382	.154	.115	.257	.261	.196	.185	-6.049E-02	.137
A man needs the latest fashion for a night out, and therefore takes the appropriate item.	***.485***	.166	.124	.194	.162	.127	3.583E-02	***.485***	4.807E-03	.127
A man takes an item in order to give a nicer gift than he can afford to his girlfriend or partner.	***.586***	.175	.345	.227	.105	1.136E-02	.195	3.538E-02	.184	-6.775E-02
A man wants to appear younger and more attractive with the item he took in order to impress a woman younger than him.	***.428***	.326	.404	3.942E-02	.103	.128	.182	.298	8.843E-02	-4.125E-03
By taking an item a middle-aged man wants a younger woman to think he is better than other men.	.214	.370	***.455***	8.987E-02	.187	.272	-6.586E-03	.183	8.411E-02	7.552E-02
A young man takes an item because he wants to impress his girlfriend with what he has.	***.507***	.159	.222	.345	.177	.187	.113	7.484E-02	-3.850E-02	.227
A man demonstrates he can take an item because he wants others to be afraid of him.	.160	.109	.229	.241	.223	-5.868E-02	.275	5.316E-02	.251	***.481***
A person takes an item because they want to appear wealthier in front of their 'parents' with the item they now have.	.180	.179	***.615***	1.381E-02	.228	.212	.118	.135	.182	-2.956E-02
A person takes an item because they are trying to compete with a family member.	9.454E-02	.159	***.623***	.171	.215	5.941E-02	.146	1.067E-02	8.539E-02	.253
A person wants to impress their parents with an expensive item, and therefore take	.182	.115	***.713***	.119	.261	-1.009E-02	.247	.118	3.683E-02	-4.526E-02

A person takes an item for an elderly parent that the person is caring for.	5.297E-02	.230	***.563***	.343	2.767E-02	.168	-7.562E-02	2.691E-03	3.121E-03	-.148
A person takes an item because they want their parents to think they are more successful than their siblings.	.190	.181	***.701***	.218	.141	.165	4.151E-02	5.222E-02	2.121E-02	.145
A person takes an item because they believe with the item they now have will help to impress their parents.	.243	.169	***.756***	.164	.152	.114	8.845E-02	9.317E-02	4.516E-03	-2.211E-02
The item is taken because a parent wants their child to wear the same designer brand as other children.	.303	7.837E-02	.219	***.566***	1.634E-02	-5.319E-02	.219	.264	9.742E-02	-1.300E-02
A parent takes an item because they want to appear to be a more loving parent to their peers.	.256	.192	.239	.410	.225	4.273E-02	.121	***.444***	5.003E-02	.137
A parent takes an item to please their child because they want to keep their child happy.	.197	.188	.141	***.700***	.170	.124	-5.692E-02	.209	9.978E-02	7.693E-02
A parent takes an item because they want their family to appear of a higher social class to outsiders with the item they now have.	***.411***	9.277E-02	.273	.405	.189	.258	5.433E-02	.189	.159	.230
A parent is trying to hide the family's lack of money, and therefore takes an item.	.310	.125	.101	***.566***	.136	.142	.111	9.206E-02	.107	.245
A mother takes an item because she feels good if her child looks wealthier.	.331	.155	.256	***.409***	.177	.157	.127	.275	.224	-3.125E-02
A father is unemployed and takes an item because he does not want his family to go without anything.	9.800E-02	9.686E-02	.111	***.641***	.104	.147	.139	-5.405E-02	3.139E-02	7.334E-02
A mother will take an item for her child, so she can spend extra money on herself.	.270	.152	***.357***	.129	.274	-5.455E-02	-1.871E-02	.347	.327	-7.359E-02
A woman takes an item because women are better at going undetected than men.	7.230E-02	5.182E-02	.218	.106	***.664***	.125	6.613E-04	.120	.418	-.170
A residential person takes an item because they believe a foreign person is more noticeable to security staff.	.178	.231	.189	7.118E-02	***.572***	.218	-7.602E-02	3.286E-02	.124	-.109
A woman takes an item because there is no security officer close by to see her.	.294	.201	.136	.276	***.441***	-2.358E-02	.115	4.070E-02	.206	-9.539E-02

A middle-aged person takes an item because they believe a young person is more noticeable to security staff than a middle-aged person.	.181	8.873E-02	.220	.208	***.721***	3.196E-02	2.105E-02	-4.932E-03	5.892E-02	8.992E-02
A woman takes a small and lower value item because it lowers her fears of getting detected.	8.351E-02	.109	9.163E-02	.169	***.697***	.154	.180	7.766E-02	-8.895E-02	5.561E-02
A middle-aged person takes an item because they believe they are least likely to be prosecuted after apprehension than a young person.	.212	3.556E-02	.181	8.271E-02	***.723***	1.337E-02	8.156E-02	9.636E-02	2.774E-02	.274
A parent cannot afford a present for their child, and therefore takes the item.	.157	9.570E-02	.108	***.765***	.135	4.943E-02	.143	-6.438E-02	-6.439E-02	-3.114E-02
A parent takes an item because they do not want their child to feel unwanted from their child's friends.	.180	.195	.195	***.633***	.211	.106	.157	.128	.155	-.133
A woman takes an item to be noticeable because her boyfriend or partner tends to ignore her.	.111	***.463***	.257	.127	.338	.139	.232	.213	-3.043E-02	-.203
A woman has taken an item because her sensuous needs were not being fulfilled.	8.957E-02	.443	.207	2.279E-02	.136	.213	9.254E-02	***.478***	-4.095E-02	-.273

Table I.1-3 Extraction Method of Principal Component Analysis and Rotation Method of Varimax with Kaiser Normalization

Component Transformation Matrix

Component	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	.474	.402	.395	.374	.322	.298	.243	.181	.171	.068
2	-.147	-.247	.327	.168	.562	-.533	-.379	.122	.155	-.022
3	.238	-.468	-.297	.690	-.175	-.171	.185	.004	-.114	.229
4	.135	-.182	-.558	-.192	.666	.309	.025	-.197	.101	.113
5	-.444	-.458	.424	.000	.145	.437	.336	.051	-.275	.102
6	-.624	.348	-.316	.501	.077	.191	-.079	.139	.125	-.234
7	-.228	.218	.118	.071	.057	-.290	.403	-.733	.198	.238
8	-.099	.353	-.167	-.114	.217	-.332	.245	.338	-.599	.367
9	-.158	-.100	-.094	-.207	-.124	-.092	.300	.475	.658	.375
10	.077	-.109	-.086	-.085	.121	-.271	.576	.122	.014	-.730

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.
Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

Table I.1-4 Component Transformation Matrix for the Ten Factors

I.2 – Factor Analysis: Phase Two

Total Variance Explained

	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
Component	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	14.480	37.129	37.129	14.480	37.129	37.129	4.325	11.089	11.089
2	2.238	5.739	42.868	2.238	5.739	42.868	3.809	9.766	20.855
3	2.037	5.224	48.092	2.037	5.224	48.092	3.721	9.541	30.396
4	1.680	4.307	52.400	1.680	4.307	52.400	3.666	9.400	39.796
5	1.525	3.910	56.310	1.525	3.910	56.310	3.342	8.570	48.366
6	1.232	3.160	59.470	1.232	3.160	59.470	2.759	7.073	55.440
7	1.042	2.671	62.140	1.042	2.671	62.140	2.613	6.701	62.140
8	.951	2.438	64.578						
9	.828	2.122	66.700						
10	.804	2.060	68.761						
11	.752	1.929	70.689						
12	.746	1.914	72.603						
13	.717	1.839	74.442						
14	.695	1.783	76.225						
15	.644	1.651	77.876						
16	.621	1.594	79.470						
17	.562	1.442	80.911						
18	.530	1.359	82.270						
19	.518	1.327	83.598						
20	.483	1.240	84.837						
21	.467	1.197	86.034						
22	.450	1.154	87.188						
23	.433	1.111	88.299						
24	.417	1.069	89.368						
25	.388	.995	90.363						
26	.378	.968	91.332						
27	.360	.923	92.255						
28	.352	.904	93.158						
29	.342	.876	94.034						
30	.317	.812	94.846						
31	.292	.749	95.595						
32	.276	.707	96.302						
33	.265	.681	96.983						
34	.234	.600	97.582						
35	.222	.569	98.151						
36	.202	.518	98.669						
37	.196	.504	99.173						
38	.175	.448	99.621						
39	.148	.379	100.000						

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Table I.2-1 Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings of the Seven Factors

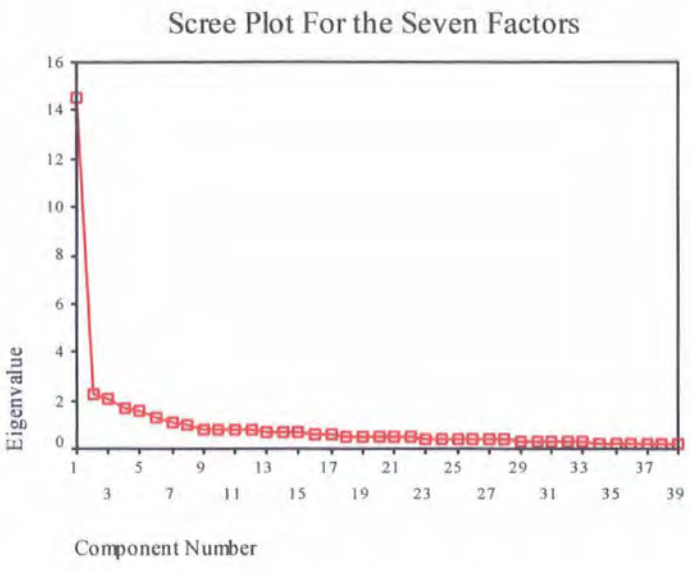

Figure I.2-1 Screeplot for the Seven Factors

Component Transformation Matrix

Component	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	.474	.403	.392	.366	.377	.302	.302
2	-.176	.372	-.179	.715	-.103	-.285	-.442
3	.192	-.084	.718	-.043	-.363	-.549	-.069
4	.132	-.750	-.005	.564	-.191	.221	.131
5	-.433	.313	.142	.076	-.625	.339	.428
6	-.655	-.170	.507	.059	.445	.189	-.217
7	-.268	-.053	-.144	.161	.302	-.571	.679

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.
Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

Table I.2-2 Component Transformation Matrix for the Seven Factors

Appendix J:
J.1 – Approaching Typology

While, earlier academic research has built on defining the concept of TFS, they usually indicates that offenders differ from one another, primarily with respect to expertise at and commitment to the crime, use of stolen goods, motivations, and duration of involvement (Caputo, 2004, p. 50). In order to understand the problem, several authors have developed typologies or classifications schemes to distinguish the offender (Beck & McIntyre, 1977; Cameron, 1964; Cox et al., 1990; McShane & Noonan, 1993; Moore, 1984). While a number of typologies have be offered, the work of Cameron (1964) and Moore (1984) are probably the most well known (Krasnovsky & Lane, 1998). In a study of apprehended individuals charged for TFS, Cameron identified two general categories: the 'booster' and the 'snitch'. The 'booster' or commercial offender (comprising about 10% of her sample of 'shoplifters') is the professional offender who steals as a means of economic gain, for example, they steal to sell. The 'snitch' is known today as the non-professional or amateur offender (comprising about 90% of her sample of 'shoplifters') who usually steals items of little value for his or her personal use and consumption, for example they may steal out of necessity or even to satisfy a physical or psychological need. Cameron's study was the first extensive attempt to understand and classify the offender, and her findings and generalizations were influential in subsequent research (Krasnovsky & Lane, 1998).

Moore (1984) extended Cameron's typology, utilising five dimensions. From research of 300 convicted TFS offenders, Moore identified five distinct groups using probation recorded data and interviews: the 'impulse' shoplifter, the 'occasional' shoplifter, the 'episodic' shoplifter, the 'amateur' shoplifter, the 'semi-professional' shoplifter. Nonetheless, Moore's typology of TFS offender provided the groundwork by which to explore characterological distinctions among offenders, and thus it relates to coping strategies and attitudes of the social world (Krasnovsky & Lane, 1998). In general, it is not ways possible to compare and synthesize typologies or classification of TFS offenders, given subtle differences and considerable overlap between categories (Caputo, 2004).

Caputo's study suggests that, the simplest and clearest distinction among offenders is made between professionals and non-professional (or amateur) TFS offenders. Therefore, the popular explanations of TFS offenders fall into two general categories. The first category is the professional offender who steals for a living (Lin et al., 1994) and may also be involved in other criminal and deviant behaviour (Caputo, 2004). The second category contains the amateur offender who steals to satisfy a physical or psychological need. The amateurs include adolescents, middle-aged, housewives, kleptomaniacs, vagrants, alcoholics and drug addicts. According to the research by Cameron (1964) and others, professionals make up a small proportion (about 10%) of all TFS offenders. Thus, most TFS offenders appear to be non-professionals who steal for a variety of reason (Caputo, 2004), as cited throughout Chapter Two.

Studies claim that if given an opportunity or an excuse people from nearly any group of customers will commit the offence. Since sought that 97% of the time, offenders are not caught, and out of all the occurrence of TFS (Cromwell et al., 1999), only one in five offenders are professionals, it would be impossible to classify an offender. Therefore, approaching and investigating TFS as 'normal' consumer behaviour has been increasingly of interest in order to understand the problem (see for example Babin & Griffin, 1995; see for example Babin *et al.*, 1994; Cox et al., 1990; Fullerton & Punj, 1997*a*, 1997*c*). The most problematic aspect of TFS is that those who commit such behaviour do not conform to peoples typical notions of what criminals are suppose to be like (Turner & Cashdan, 1988).

It might be reasonable to say that store thieves are 'atypical' criminals, they are more difficult to catch. It is difficult for businesses to distinguish between their 'law obedient' customers and customer thieves just by appearances because the two groups usually come from similar backgrounds. Therefore, it is such a common offence and it is committed by so many people that no specific characteristic or pattern arise to make a typology of a comprehensive classification of the offenders (Arboleda-Florez et al., 1977). However, some researchers and stakeholders argue that there is an average TFS offender profile (Harbin, 1977). Besides being a problem for businesses, shop thieves have proven problematic for researchers. It is more difficult, if not impossible to conceptualize store thieves motives within a particular explanation (Klemke, 1982). It is interesting in the view of resent studies, which worked to find possible explanations. Most of them have built upon a respectable history of understanding TFS using 'a prior' classification techniques, and support the contention that TFS offenders may be a heterogeneous group consisting of multiple subtypes (McShane & Noonan, 1993). According to McShane and Noonan's findings from their study, support the contention that store thieves are a heterogeneous population consisting of multiple subtypes.

Overall it could be argued that theft behaviour shares certain similarities with 'normal' consumer behaviour (Tonglet, 2001). Although, TFS is a criminal behaviour, it is also consumer behaviour, in that it is, 'part of people's conduct in their role as consumers' (Fullerton & Punj, 1997*c*). Cox et al., (1990, p. 149) suggest that 'shoplifting is not limited to a small criminal subculture, instead it is a startlingly common method of consumer product acquisition', and this view of the offender as a consumer rather than a distinct criminal type is supported by research which indicates that a significant proportion of consumers steal. For example, studies of apprehended store thieves (Cameron, 1964; Cohen & Stark, 1974) indicate that the majority do not have a record of prior criminal behaviour.

J.2 – Applications of EP in Understanding Reactions

While, the theoretical foundations for EP were laid over 20 years ago, and promising academic literature is persistently growing (Cary, 2000). Its theories are supported by a recent emerging body of studies in organizational and management systems (Ben-Ner & Putterman, 2000; Colarelli *et al.*, 2002; Fichman, 2003; Kameda & Tsukasaki, 2003; Langlois, 2003; Macdonald, 2000; Nicholson, 1998; Pierce & White, 1999; Saad & Gill, 2000, 2003; Sewell, 2004a, 2004b; Thompson, 2003). Increasing number of articles in social science disciplines has specifically used EP as a framework to explain their findings. Even the field of management has begun to use this framework lately (see Saad & Gill, 2000, for a trend analysis specifically to the management discipline).

Nicholson (1998) has made reference to this framework and its potential applications in understanding reactions of individuals within organisations. In the context of organisations, EP has also been employed to understand organisational structures (Pierce & White, 1999). According to Nigel Nicholson, the implications of EP principles can be considered in managerial problems (see Nicholson, 1997, 1998). He also suggests that evolutionary psychology insights into human instinct will prove illuminating to anyone seeking to understand why people act the way they do in organizational settings (Nicholson, 1998). Time and time again however, managers (even though they are unaware) do use evolutionary psychology perspective (Nicholson, 1998; Thompson, 2003). Organisations should set about trying to find a 'natural' way managing, something close to what evolutionary psychology sees as our ancestral archetype (refer to Nicholson, 1998, p. 147).

By entering the 21st century studies have argued (Cary, 2000; Colarelli & Dettmann, 2003; Hantula, 2003; Lynn *et al.*, 1999; Saad & Gill, 2000, 2003; Smith & Hantula, 2003; Wright, 2002) that many consumer products and advertisements reflect an accurate view of human nature, a view that is compatible with the view of he human mind is a collection of functionally specialized mechanisms that were designed by natural selection to solve the adaptive problems faced by our evolutionary ancestors. Lynn, Kampschroeder, and Perriera (1999) has explicitly proposed the potential applications of EP to consumer behaviour and marketing. Specifically, they encourage consumer researchers to make greater use of an evolutionary perspective. Studies based on evolutionary analyses provided insight into the perceptual, cognitive and motivational mechanisms underlying consumer attitudes and behaviour (Colarelli & Dettmann, 2003; Lynn et al., 1999; Saad & Gill, 2000). In the view of an EP argument, the most motivating higher order benefits that consumers seek will nearly at all times have a close link to the factors that lead to reproductive success, whereby consumers themselves are not necessarily aware of the links (Cary, 2000).

Thus, marketers have are continuing to use evolutionary principles to their advantage. Practitioners appear to use an intuitive evolutionary perspective in developing marketing practices, and advertisements and consumer products that tap into evolved psychological mechanisms seem to have a robust appeal to consumers (Colarelli & Dettmann, 2003). For example, attributed to peoples personalities, sexes etc. are proven to be linked to products and brands, consumer choice and emotions as inclusive fitness maximization, finding benefits for consumers that help fulfil their ultimate dreams of reproductive success, and to other consumption-related phenomena (Saad & Gill, 2000).

The framework of sex differences in motivations for gift giving in the context of a romantic relationship has recently been applied by Saad and Gill (2003). The findings in this context were in accord with the evolutionary predictions. Men view gift giving as more of an economic/social exchange as opposed to a pure expression of love or affection, which will be valued highly by their partner. Research in marketing quantifies this dimension under evolutionary predictions, that the physical (body shape) and facial attractiveness of a famous individuals or a model is one of the factors that affect favourable perceptions and attitude towards any promoted product (Saad & Gill, 2000). Saad and Gill's study claims that applications of EP in the context of marketing and consumer behaviour can be used to explain the currently observed market-level phenomena. Usually, cultural and media-based social forces are agents of causality of developing standards for beauty (Thornhill & Gangestad, 1999; Thornhill & Grammer, 1999) which "only" highlight such phenomenon (Saad & Gill, 2000).

The marketing sector supports that evolutionary theorists have posited that contemporary men and women differ in their specific psychological mechanisms having to do with mate selection because different strategies would have benefited men versus women in our distant ancestral past (see Wiederman, 1993). Thus, male and female advertisements are directed through female and male perception and values of a most favourable mate in our environment today. For example, any EP framework of mate selection predicts that humans prefer honest signals of health, youth, and fertility in potential mates. Therefore, market-level evidence suggests that men were more likely than women to seek attractiveness, appealing body shape, and younger that them in selecting a potential mate. Women on the other hand were more likely than men to go for qualities that lead to resource acquisition and thus older that themselves (Wiederman, 1993). Accommodating research also claims that the waist-hip ratio in women is an accurate indicator of these attributes and proposed that men respond to such an attractiveness cue (see Barber, 1995).

Barber (1995) found that low waist-hip ratio is sexually attractive in women and indicates a high estrogen/testosterone ratio (which favours reproductive function), and that facial attractiveness provides honest cues to health and mate value. Evidence also proposes that weight scaled for height (the body mass index) is the primary determinant of sexual attractiveness which is strongly linked to health and reproductive potential (see Tovee *et al.*, 1999). Thinner women in a sample survey received more success in advertisements male influence, thus this may simply reflect male preference for morphological signs of youth and health (see Pawlowski & Koziel, 2002, for a review of hit rate for female advertisers). There are a large number of recent empirical studies supporting the EP prediction of important attributes of mate attractiveness (Campbell *et al.*, 2002; Cary, 2000; Colarelli & Dettmann, 2003; Freese & Meland, 2002; Grammer *et al.*, 2000; Hantula, 2003; Heffernan *et al.*, 2002; Henss, 2000; Lynn et al., 1999; Marlowe & Wetsman, 2001; Pawlowski & Koziel, 2002; Saad & Gill, 2000; Streeter & McBurney, 2003). Overall it could be argued that in the marketing context, EP provides standards that are implemented, which in tern are easily modified through media influences.

Appendix K:
K.1 – Crime Prevention Cost

Geoffrey Northcott, head of loss prevention and health and safety for British Borders explains, that the

> '..changes in the retail environment over the last few years make it increasingly difficult for loss prevention teams to identify and manage incidents of theft and fraud.' (BRC, 2005, p. 33)

In response to the problem, there are increasing pressures on businesses to increase store security measures and product theft protection equipment, by using security officers, electronic article surveillance (EAS) systems, surveillance systems installations in-and-out store spaces using closed circuit television (CCTV), and so forth that is included in crime prevention costs (see BRC, 2005). Investment in security costs the sector on average £720 million per year, of which about 60% it typically accounted for by physical security measures (excluding guards). Figure L.1-1 shows the recent cost of security staff and theft protection that accounted for 64% alone in 2004.

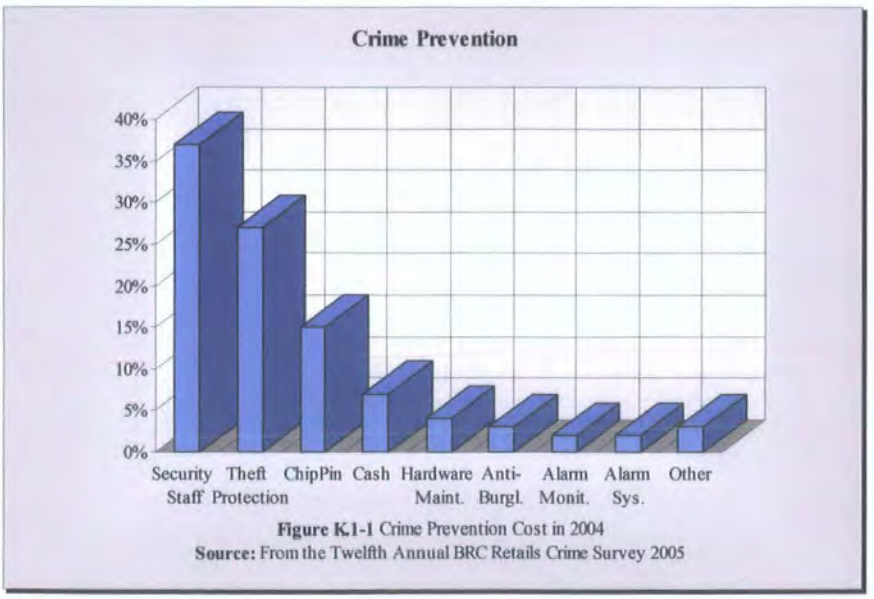

Figure K.1-1 Crime Prevention Cost in 2004
Source: From the Twelfth Annual BRC Retails Crime Survey 2005

This trend has been recognised for several years in 2004 by the British Retail Consortium publication. From 2000 till 2004, capital spending on crime preventions has reached over £1 billion with, on average, £211 million spent each year. In 2004, the British retail industry sent £335 million of capital on crime prevention. The biggest increase in expenditure was sought to be in surveillance, with spending rising from £33 million in 2003 to £122 million in 2004 (BRC, 2005, p. 51). This rise may be because the technological systems fitting crime against businesses has changed rapidly (see Surette, 2005, for a comprehensive review on the evolution literature concerning CCTV surveillance systems), or that studies within the area may focus on these methods to control the problem in order to advance a challenge (Biever Celeste, 2004). Technologies also are needed to surveillance the behaviour of customers (Blakemore, 2005). Theft from stores is a significant concern, as is fraud, and RFID (radio frequency identification) technologies are promoted as providing 'brand-protection solutions to protect against counterfeiting and return fraud with label materials with overt and covert security features including tamper-evident adhesives, magnetic threads and invisible taggants for authentication, secure laminates and more' (ZEBRA, 2005).

The "World" of Stolen Goods

An Engaging, Comprehensive Exploration of Theft from Stores

Different theories and methods have played an important role in the development of ideas about the specific crime of Theft from Stores. Christodoulou's study draws together in an accessible form the major contributions made by disciplinary theory and practices. These range across a wide spectrum for explanations of TFS causes. The social response to crime causation is explored alongside the disciplines of the offender, stores, and other capitalist institutions, and the author provides a full discussion of the data findings and on possible crime prevention strategies.

These concerns provide the main point of focus in a thorough comprehensively referenced guide to the research linking economic, marketing, criminology, sociology, anthropology, cultural studies, psychology, medical, history and geography. *The "World" of Stolen Goods* answers to questions that quit does not make sense driven from past findings about why people steal, and what factors may influence this process. It proposes a new way of wondering *why* a person behaves obscurely in our modernized consumer based society.

It profiles a different approach in order to understand why some people steal and others not. It globalizes assumption and explicit why people want to steal, in the sense of why they actually do so. The "world" of stolen goods bridges the gaps between various disciplines. Therefore, this Thesis is written by an Economic, Finance and Business postgraduate, and offers recognitions from a consumer management psychologist, and a leading geographic economist. This Thesis can enrich academics and practitioners appreciation of the nexus of the global industrial crime. Chapters:

- The World of Stolen Goods: Culture and Evolution
- Theft Behaviour in a Wider Perspective: A Review and Critique
- Attribution Style and Public Attitudes: Perceptions versus Reality
- Abductive Reasoning of Thievery: Attributions of Crime Causation Analysis
- An Evolutionary Framework: Factors Underlying Attitude Formation

"Society's Cultural Evolution of Illicit Consumption"